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THE
MEXICAN PAPERS.

THE MEXICAN QUESTION,
THE GREAT AMERICAN QUESTION,

WITH

Personal Reminiscences,

BY

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

A SERIAL–ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY.

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BY

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

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THE

MEXICAN PAPERS.

NOTE.

The MEXICAN PAPERS are issued solely on my own responsibility, and they will be entirely under my control. No political party or individual interests, in this country or Mexico, have part or lot in the matter.

The object of these publications is to draw the attention of the mercantile and industrial classes in the United States, to the national importance of the Mexican question; and to place before them information respecting Mexico, her people and her institutions, with the view of correcting public opinion on some highly important points, which, in my judgment, are entirely ignored, or thoroughly misconceived. These subjects will be explained with reference to the vital interests the American people have in Mexico, not omitting to touch, suggestively, upon those intimate relations which, sooner or later, must be established between the two republics.

The ignorance that prevails throughout this country relative to Mexico and Mexican affairs, is a matter of public acknowledgment and comment. But a growing interest touching every thing appertaining to that country is beginning to manifest itself; and this is one great inducement under which I put forth such knowledge as I possess on the subject, only regretting that neither my business pursuits, nor my abilities, will permit me to wholly occupy the great and grand field that is open to one of literary occupation. I write with no attempt at rhetorical flourish, or literary effect, but as a business man, brought up in a practical, hard school. My aim is, to reach the common sense of the active, progressive, working masses, and to this end, I shall be compelled to say much that will not be very flattering to the politician, or the political parties of the day, whenever political matters are discussed, as they necessarily will be, in connection with the main subject.

Having spent many years as a pioneer in those distant regions of which I treat, I returned two years since to the point from which I emigrated—the city of New York. Circumstances not altogether of my own choosing, but having connection with business enterprises throughout the countries most recently covered by the advancing wave of American civilization, brought me in contact with those who figure in what is called the *political arena.* The result of this contact, in my own mind, up to the present time, is, the discovery that our national legislature, our government officials—in short, our politicians—revolve in a sphere distinct from the people, and breathe an atmosphere that causes a feverish beating of the national pulse, and a dangerous palpitation of the national heart. I do not discern the slightest difference in the political *status*, or the political *animus*, of our great political parties—the one being just as ready to slaughter the common interests of the country, in the accomplishment of their own particular and selfish ends, as the other. It appears as though the narrowing down of our national politics to a single point, which common understandings and a low order of demagogues can grasp and wield as a political hobby, has either dwarfed our great men down to pigmies, or driven them out of politics altogether. One thing is certain: our political sea must cast up something from its depths of a different, higher order than such as we now find drifting about on its surface, before our national government can be elevated to a respectable standard, and placed on a safe basis. No one or two men can work out this great achievement of state. It must be accomplished by a powerful combination of patriotic souls and great intellects, made up from the different sections of the country.

It may be said now, that the country advances *in spite* of the government. Nothing but the indomitable perseverance and the unresting energies, the intelligence and virtue of the masses, keeps us up and carries us onward, a united people. How long before the politicians will master this favorable and fortunate combination, is a question that may well start some serious reflections. There appears to be something like an "irrepressible conflict" going on between the illegitimate interests of the politicians, on the one side, and the legitimate interests of the people on the other, and as matters now progress, it looks as though the politicians might come off victorious.

The treatment bestowed upon the Mexican question in this country (as well as in Europe), brings out some startling features in American politics, which it will be my endeavor to present to the public in their true light.

The MEXICAN PAPERS will plead for the cause of liberty in Mexico, but not in a partisan spirit.

Communications of reasonable length, calculated to interest and enlighten the public on the great question, whether in accordance with, or opposed to my individual opinions, shall have place in the columns of the MEXICAN PAPERS.

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

PERSONAL.

It is now twelve years since my experience with Mexico and the Mexican people commenced. During this period, I have travelled over a considerable portion of that country, and resided therein at intervals. I have been occupied in explorations, and in business connected with mining and trading interests throughout California, Arizona, along the Pacific coast, and in Mexico. My intercourse has been with all classes of the Mexican people, from the humblest Indian peon to the wealthiest Don in the land. The opportunities of studying Mexico and her people, which it has been my good fortune to enjoy, have, I trust, been improved to such an extent as will enable me to give to the public, something relative to that rich and beautiful country and its people, of an interesting and instructive nature.

It is with the masses of the laboring population in Mexico that much of my experience lies. That class of inhabitants known as *Pueblos Indians*,* and those of a grade higher, called *gente de rason*,† were for several years my servants and attendants in explorations throughout Northern Mexico, Arizona, and New Mexico, and they have labored for me in the principal branches of Mexican industry—mining and agriculture.

Whether as attendants or servants over the long and arid desert stretches of those unexplored and unknown regions, in contact with wild and ruthless hordes of savages, or as laborers in the mines and the field, I have found them faithful and industrious. My undertakings with this people have been attended with success; and furthermore, I have, in numerous instances, experienced at their hands, that kindness and devotion which can only be founded on the highest degree of generosity and courage of which our nature is capable. The knowledge I have gained of Mexico and Mexicans under these peculiar advantages, has given me views and opinions relative to the country and people, somewhat different from those generally prevailing abroad. If my experience in that quarter of the world enables me to shed any light upon a momentous and difficult question, one of the main objects of this publication will be attained.

On returning to New York from the northern frontier of Mexico in 1858, I continued to take an active interest in Mexican affairs, and having resolved to visit the interior of Mexico, March, 1859, I was induced to undertake a Mexican correspondence with the NEW YORK TIMES and with the LONDON TIMES. For the space of six months, my letters from Mexico appeared in the former journal over the signature of "MITLA." During this period, my communications to the LONDON TIMES were what may be termed *occasional*. I had the satisfaction of seeing my letters to the latter journal made the basis of its editorial remarks, favoring the liberal cause in Mexico, and an active, decided *American* policy in that country.

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* Half-civilized Indians, who live in villages.

† People of reason

It so happened that Mr. McLane was appointed minister to Mexico about this time, and we were companions on the voyage from New Orleans to Vera Cruz, at which latter place we arrived April 1, 1859.

The Constitutional government located at Vera Cruz was then composed of the following parties: BENITO JUAREZ, President; MELCHOR OCAMPO, Secretary of Foreign Affairs; LERDO DE TEJADA, Minister of Hacienda or Finance; SANTOS DEGOLLADO, Secretary of War; and MANUEL RUIS, Minister of Justice. The Liberal party comprehended the masses of the Mexican people. The Constitutional government was acknowledged by twenty out of the twenty-three states which compose the confederacy. The Liberals also held all the ports in the country, and though far more numerous than their opponents, they were poor, exhausted, scattered over a vast extent of country, and with scarcely any means of cohesion which would enable them to throw any united and vigorous force against their enemies, who, compact, energetic, cunning and rich, were making a last desperate struggle to hold the power and wealth of ages. The Liberals of Mexico had made many unsuccessful attempts to break the chains that bound them. Domestic treachery and foreign oppression, outrage and abuse, had all combined to crush the liberal-minded and patriotic. The bloody page of Mexican history is marked with a deeper stain at regular intervals, by the execution of those leading spirits, who, one after another, have espoused the cause of freedom and humanity in that benighted country. But now a revolution had occurred which struck at the diseased and rotten foundation of Mexican nationality. For the first time, a revolution had forced into the issue those deep-seated evils under which the nation had existed for more than three centuries. For the first time, a distinct and enduring line was drawn between the two parties; the one struggling for healthy and vigorous progress according to the light of the age; the other making wild and savage efforts to fasten upon the nation still greater oppression according to the teachings of ages past. This latter party, now reduced to a mere faction of the people, had its government in the city of Mexico. That government, usurpation, or whatever it may be called, had its immediate origin in intrigues which overthrew Comonfort, who, as the representative of liberal principles, had attained power.

The authority re-established by the church party represented, however, in all its parts, and in every particular, that ancient tyranny which for more than three centuries has caused Mexico to weep tears of blood. This government, in its declarations and acts, repudiated all intercourse, social and commercial, with the United States; and in all this, as well as in its murderous propensities and purposes, its determined and destructive despotism over its own people, its bitter hatred of Christianity and freedom—this wicked faction, this outrageous caricature or semblance of a human government, was recognized and sustained by England, France, and Spain. The representatives of these European powers were the open and active partisans of the Miramon, or church party government—inciting it to every excess in plundering and butchering the weak and defenceless people. They went far beyond the limits allowed diplomacy. At the very time Mr. McLane arrived in Vera Cruz, the commanders of the English and French fleets were under orders to bombard that city, the seat of the Liberal government.

There was, in fact, the most decided and positive interference in the affairs of Mexico on the part of England, France, and Spain. These powers had united with the remnant of a despotic faction in Mexico, whose parentage was due to another continent and another age, and declared to the United States, in the most open and offensive manner: "*You have no rights here; and neither your power, influence, or interests, shall be extended over this land.*"

This great and glaring fact, this anti-American, anti-republican feeling and policy, Mr. McLane encountered at the very outset of his mission. Could he, then, unite with those representatives of European powers in acknowledging a party whose very existence depended on European and despotic influence, and the severance of every thing like social, political, and commercial intercourse with the United States? Or, should Mr. McLane have declined to act under these circumstances, and stated to the people and government of the United States: "The government holding the city of Mexico hate us and our institutions; they wish to form no relations with our people and government, but desire the establishment of a despotic power in their midst, under the protection of Europe; and in this they are openly and actively sustained by England, France, and Spain. The Liberals of Mexico are mostly of Indian blood. The popular cry is, that (they are a good-for-nothing, thieving, plundering race; at war with all the principles of Christianity and freedom, and deserving of no sort of sympathy or aid) on the part of the United States. We had better avoid all interference, and let matters take their course."

Mr. McLane acted no such unchristian, inhuman part as this; but on the 6th of April, 1859, formally recognized the constitutional government of Mexico, represented by President Juarez. The ceremony took place in one of the long rooms of the *Palacio Municipal.*

President Juarez was escorted by a body of the regular army, and surrounded by his principal civil and military officers. Mr. McLane was attended by his secretary, and a suite of American gentlemen. The scene was in the highest degree solemn and impressive. The historical interest attached to the place where the great filibuster Cortez commenced his career of conquest; the fair Anglo-Saxon, face to face with the swarthy Toltec, both standing on the common platform of religion, education, and constitutional freedom, and recognizing each other in the bonds of peace and friendship, on behalf of their respective countries—combined to form one of those romantic and important events which occur so frequently in the history of the country. Viewed in all its bearings, this was a sublime act. In tracing the genealogy of the race of Juarez, we are carried back to the obscure and mysterious past of Mexico, from which the veil will never be lifted to mortal eyes; yet dim tradition, the spiritual index of the untutored, unlettered children of nature, points to the ancient Asiatics as the progenitors of the Mexican people from whom JUAREZ sprung. By an extraordinary series of events, this pure Indian, now a man of education and accomplishments, having risen from mysterious depths, is found at the head of the nation in its last great struggle for life, liberty, and happiness. This Indian President of distracted Mexico—he who represents the Past as well as the Present—in behalf of the wretched remnant of a people of unknown antiquity, which the despotism of ages has not crushed out of existence, cries out to the youngest, freshest, and most powerful free government on earth for sympathy and support. The representative of that free government responds in the name of Christianity and humanity, and acknowledges before all the world, the right of this down-trodden and despised people to possess and enjoy that priceless boon to man—civil and religious liberty. No such spectacle has been witnessed for ages, and may not be again for ages to come. But, sad to relate, this act on the part of the American minister proved to be in advance of the time. The American people and Congress virtually placed the seal of condemnation on the sublime action of their representative in Mexico.

But that act of recognition extended to the Liberal government of Mexico will have the prominent and favorable place in history which its importance and merits demand. Aside from its grandeur in a moral point of view, it was a bold, clear, and decided announcement of the right of the American people and government to protect their interests abroad, and extend their institutions and influence, especially on this continent, even against all despotic agencies, and the opposition of foreign powers combined.

This recognition on the part of the American minister finally resulted in a treaty with the government recognized. But the relations thus formed by Mr. McLANE with the liberal government of Mexico, have been denounced and repudiated by the people and government of the United States. There is probably no instance on record where the simple diplomatic efforts of an American envoy to establish friendly and profitable relations with a foreign power, have been attacked with such bitter malignity and rude violence as in the case of Mr. McLANE. Our minister to Mexico, wherever known, is regarded as a hightoned gentleman, of decided talent and thorough education. His integrity of character is unimpeachable, and his patriotism no one doubts; and yet, had this functionary been a very dolt in diplomacy, as corrupt as the vilest of politicians, and a blackhearted traitor to his country, he could not have been more heartily abused than he has been in his efforts to sustain the American name and character abroad, and the cause of liberty in Mexico, and create permanent relations of amity and commerce between the two countries. Whether such extraordinary conduct on the part of the American people and Congress, so contrary to their professions and the spirit of the age, arises from apathy, ignorance, partisan feeling in politics, or the lack of any thing like real sympathy with freedom in other countries, time only can determine. At the present moment we are united with despotic agencies to smother the new-born hopes of freedom in Mexico, and cast the people back into darkness and despair. The United States now occupy the meanest position toward Mexico that it is possible for a powerful and free republic to hold toward a weak and despairing neighbor nation—a position that will prove a sin and a shame to us in the future.

My own interests, of a purely commercial nature, required my presence in Mexico, and, as previously stated, I left New York for Vera Cruz in March, 1859, before Mr. McLane was appointed minister. It was, therefore, an unexpected pleasure to meet him at New Orleans *en route* to the country of his new and important labors. I found Mr. McLane an ardent student in Mexican affairs, seizing with avidity all information relative to matters in that country. My own stock of knowledge and experience was at his service, and I exerted all my powers to induce him to recognize the Juarez government. I do not know that I had one particle of influence with the minister. I hope I had. The urgent necessity of the case was, however, so vividly apparent to any cordial hater of a bloody, pagan despotism, that outside influences were unnecessary.

A combination of favorable circumstances placed me on a friendly and confidential footing with President Juarez and his cabinet, during my sojourn of three months in Vera Cruz. I had an excellent opportunity to become acquainted with the *personelle*, the views, feelings, and purposes of those who represented the Liberal party and government of Mexico. I found them a band of patriots, who had pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the cause of freedom. I found them of exalted spirit, pure in private life, and well educated. It must be said, however, that the leaders in the Liberal party are not so eminently practical as the immediate necessities of their cause require them to be. With a thorough knowledge of the theory of free institutions, and firmly convinced of the justice of their cause, and of its destined success, they will not condescend, so to speak, to adopt that energetic, practical course with men and things, both at home and abroad, which is necessary to circumvent and counteract their wily and unscrupulous enemy. The officials in the Liberal party have never taken the first step toward disseminating information relative to the condition and wants of Mexico—the politics of the country, cause of the present civil war, &c., &c. The whole civilized world is banded together against the Liberals of Mexico, and yet they have never explained their true position, nor sent forth a plea in their own behalf. They also retain too many ancient abuses in the common affairs of life, even where they hold power. For instance, trade and commerce in Vera Cruz are hampered by formalities and other hindrances that ought to be immediately abolished.

But all these evils incidental to the old system, will disappear in due time. No one of ordinary sensibilities, can have personal intercourse with those leaders of the Liberal party who have suffered so much, and struggled so long against such fearful odds, without feeling that they are actuated by that true, deep, and eternal love for their country and fellow men, which will eventually be the means of redeeming the nation. Though they may commit errors, and grave ones, they are right at bottom, and deserving not only of a large charity, but a world-wide sympathy and support. No one can converse with the "little Indian," as President JUAREZ is sometimes sneeringly called, without being impressed with his deep and determined patriotism, his unflinching firmness, and incorruptible integrity. Constitutionally, he is not very energetic; but the moderate course, or, as it may be called, the Fabian policy which he pursues, and which appears to be dictated by his judgment as well, may in the end prove the wisest and most successful. It has that appearance now; and the liberal-minded in every quarter should at least desire that these patriots and their party, might have the opportunity vouchsafed to them of regenerating their degraded and unhappy country.

Views and feelings of this nature occupied my mind when in Vera Cruz. I also became most thoroughly impressed with the importance of the Mexican question in its bearing upon the policy and action of the United States. It appeared to me that the time had come for the United States government to define its position with regard not only to the belligerent parties in Mexico, but toward those European powers who were so officiously intermeddling with the affairs of that country. The relation in which the Mexican question stood to the great question of slavery, which has periodically convulsed the United States during the past forty years, was another point of the highest importance. I had my own peculiar views on this subject—views acquired in practical business life and not in the political arena. I never could tolerate the doctrine that man has the right to hold property in man. Education and association, as well as the natural love of freedom and hatred of oppression, or the claim to the right to oppress, made me an enemy to slavery everywhere and in every form. At the same time, I could not be unmindful of the fact that human slavery was one of the corner-stones in the foundation of this Union, placed there by the fathers of the confederacy, and upon which a structure has arisen which towers up before the whole earth, and out of which has grown a question—that of slavery in the United States—the solution of which involves a greater amount of property, more human life, and higher interests to the world at large, than ever before clustered around any human problem in any age. Viewed thus, the question of slavery in the United States has an awful aspect, and on the face of things, it appears that wisdom almost superhuman is needed to insure peace and safety to our common country, in its solution. But it may be that this result is to come from the foolishness of those who call themselves wise. It may be that in the narrow views, the paucity of intellect and the general degradation of politics, as developed by the politicians in our day, or *statesmen*, as they are called by their friends, Providence designs not to raise up any one man, or any class of men, of sufficient scope and power to grasp and wield the subject, and bring it to an issue at once—an issue which could only be of a character too fearful to contemplate. A greed for office, an insane passion for power amounting to a species of insanity, has seized upon the leaders of our great political parties, and for some years past they have been driving the country on to the dreaded issue at a fearful rate.

My own belief is, that up to the present moment, the limits of slavery have never been extended or diminished by agitation or legislation. I believe that expediency and profit, without regard to the Constitution of the United States or any principle of right or wrong, have marked out the boundaries of slave and free territory in these United States. The Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso, the Fugitive Slave Law and Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Lecompton and Anti-Lecompton, are all, as I conceive, so many abstractions, having no real effect on the practical operation of the institution, or the final and grand result. Slavery exists in these United States at the present moment, precisely where it would exist had all these legislative acts, these political will-o'-the-wisps, never been known. And within these limits slavery will exist until economy and safety demand its eradication.

From my observation and experience in the frontier slave states, in California, New-Mexico, Arizona, and Mexico, I am convinced that our domestic institution of slavery has found its limit; or, in other words, these United States, or any portion thereof, cannot, by legislation, backed by any amount of physical force, carry slavery in any direction beyond the line where it already exists. If the people could comprehend and believe this statement, it would be like oil upon the troubled waters.

I have had much discussion with members of Congress and senators on this point the past year, and find most of them, leading Republicans especially, have little or no knowledge of the subject, and that their political course is based on fatally erroneous theories. A leading Republican senator once said to me in conversation: "But for a good Whig administration at the time California was admitted into the Union, she would now be a slave state." Mr. Seward labors to convey the same idea in his last speech, when he says: "Under the auspicious influence of a Whig success, California and New Mexico appeared before Congress as labor states." This is a good specimen of the knowledge and the logic this class of politicians bring to bear on that part of the great question. I begged to differ from the senator, and gave him my reasons for so doing. I told him that I was one of the earliest pioneers to California, and took an active part in bringing order out of chaos in that region. Any one who was on the spot, knows full well that slave labor could no more mingle with the element that emigrated to California, than oil can mix with water. No amount of coercion, either moral or physical, on the part of the United States, could ever have established slavery in California. No administration at Washington, no political party in the United States, had any thing to do with framing the constitution of California, or making her what she is in respect to slavery. Expediency and profit settled that question in California, as they have more recently settled it in the newly acquired territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and as they will settle it in Mexico.

Negro slavery in Mexico, though established and sustained by adepts in the business—Spaniards—never flourished. In some districts, the owners voluntarily gave the slaves their liberty, and the system had nearly died out from natural causes, when, in 1829, it was formally abolished by the Mexican Congress. We now find a laboring population in Mexico of nearly six millions. The great portion of these are of Indian blood, and the laborers are generally known as *peons*. The labor of these people under a free system, is found to be cheaper and more efficient than slave labor. Here is one of the insurmountable barriers to the entrance of negro slaves into Mexico from the

United States; and until the millions of laborers who now inhabit Mexico are removed, that barrier will exist. Another insurmountable obstacle to the introduction of negro slavery into Mexico, is the fact that the negro affiliates with the common Mexican, who has the Indian's natural and unconquerable hatred of slavery, and there is no safety for negro slave property among or in the neighborhood of that people. Slaves have the sympathy of *all classes* of Mexicans, and they always afford the fugitive assistance and protection. The insecurity of slave property in Western Texas by reason of its contiguity to Mexico, has reduced slavery in that part of the state to a merely nominal affair.

For these, and other reasons of minor importance, it is clearly evident that slavery cannot be re-established in any portion of the territory now comprehended within the limits of the republic of Mexico; and yet this great fact is not believed or understood at the North. Most of the Republican leaders with whom I have conversed on the subject, I regret to say refuse to tolerate any such fact. It certainly does not favor the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine.

The South comprehends this matter much better than the North. Southern senators are generally well posted. A conversation which I held with a leading senator from the South, in March last, was so particularly interesting that I made notes of it at the time. We were speaking of the Mexican treaty, and I remarked:

"The Republican senators seem disposed to take up the treaty with a pair of tongs, and view it at arm's length, suspiciously."

"Yes," replied the senator; "they are endeavoring to find a cat under the meal-tub—but the treaty speaks for itself; they ought to know what a treaty means, what its stipulations portend."

"But, senator, it is not strange that the Republicans should view the treaty with suspicion, since the most prominent feature in Mr. BUCHANAN's administration has been the acquisition of Mexican territory, which they all believe will lead to the extension of slavery in that direction."

"They need not be alarmed on that head," said the senator, "that may be Mr. BUCHANAN's policy; but it is not my policy, or the policy of other Southern statesmen. We understand the subject better, and Mexico is not the direction in which we ever expected to extend slavery. We will not give Mr. BUCHANAN power to acquire Mexican territory."

"Do you not believe, senator, that it is practicable to introduce slavery into Mexico?"

"No, sir; we know that we cannot carry our negroes into that country, nor can we make slaves of its millions of aborigines. The peon labor is adapted to the country; there is no prejudice against the negro in Mexico, consequently there is no profit or safety in slave property in that country."

"It is certainly new to me—and I believe to the Northern public—that yourself and others in the South have this understanding of the subject; nevertheless, it is precisely the light in which I have been brought to view the matter after ten years' observation and experience."

"It may be new to the Northern public," said the senator. "If slavery could have been carried into Mexico, we would have had the country long ago. We *did* have it once, and gave it up."

"You did not know what to do with the elephant, when you got him," I remarked.

"Precisely; we had our own man, Mr. POLK, for president; we had a majority in Congress, with Mr. CALHOUN on the lead. What did CALHOUN say at that time? '*Mexico is forbidden fruit.*' We voted against the appropriation for acquiring California because we believed it would come in as free territory, and know better than to get any more Mexican territory, out of which to make free states."

"I am more and more astonished at what you tell me. The North is certainly acting under the full conviction that in endeavoring to obtain Mexican territory, Mr. BUCHANAN is entirely influenced by the leading public men of the South. You give me to understand that the contrary is the fact."

"Certainly I do," replied the senator. "Mr. BUCHANAN, in his efforts to obtain Sonora, Chihuahua, &c., is acting wholly under the California pressure. That interest goes for extending the limits, and creating the necessity for expending any amount of money in that quarter."

"It is natural," I remarked, "that California should desire to extend our Pacific coast limits; and this Mexican treaty, as I conceive, will open Arizona, which is now worthless, and, in fact, give to California the trade of Sonora, and all that region of country."

"I agree with you there perfectly," remarked the senator. "I go for the treaty on purely national grounds. The direct effect of the treaty is to extend Northern commerce and manufactures; and the indirect effect is to benefit the South by causing an increased demand for our productions. It is very strange that those Northern men cannot see it in its true light."

I was taken quite by surprise by these frank and intelligent remarks of this Southern senator. They came nearer to truth and statesmanship than any thing I had found in my intercourse with many of the distinguished political leaders in different parts of the country, but more especially in Washington.

Believing that, with the admission of Texas into the Union, slavery found its limit on this continent, and sealed its own doom within the Union by that act, I regard the "irrepressible conflict" declaration as untrue, uncalled for, and in the highest degree mischievous. It is true that a conflict has existed between free and slave labor in all parts of the world since man was commanded to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow. But this conflict has ceased to exist in Europe, as well as in some other parts of creation, and wherever it does not exist, the conflict may be termed a *repressed conflict.* Here, in the United States, the further extension of slavery is so hopeless, and the predominance of free territory is so rapidly increasing over slave territory, that whatever conflict exists between the two systems of labor, should be termed the *repressible conflict.* Surely, a man must be worse than an infidel, who will, in view of all the facts, deliberately come forward before the people of the United States, at this day, and tell them that an "*irrepressible* conflict" is going on in their midst, which must terminate in giving the entire domain to free labor or to slave labor; that the grain-fields in sight of Bunker Hill will be cultivated by slaves, or the cotton-fields of the South by freemen.

But this doctrine, so withering and searing to all sound belief in the progress of freedom; this gospel of uneasiness; this essence of the spirit of oppression, rapine, and murder—is called *statesmanship*, and its authors and teachers are held up as shining lights—honest and safe guides for the great American republic!

If the "irrepressible conflict" declaration had been applied to the struggle existing between the two great political parties of the country for *power and spoils*, the application would have been correct. Here is the true basis of the conflict that is raging. It is now in an irrepressible state, and the prospect is, that under different names and on various pretexts invented by our race of demagogues, it will thus continue until it has brought universal contempt upon our institutions, and severe disaster to the country. The sectional system of human slavery is dying out, but the principle in human nature upon which the contest for spoils is based, is indestructible. In relation to this matter, California presents to her sister states a curious and instructive feature. Filled up by free labor at the outset, as thoroughly and practically anti-slavery within her own limits as Massachusetts, the state of California sends to Congress, by overwhelming majorities, representatives and senators who vote with the slave power for the extension of slavery over territory now free. California, one of the youngest, freshest, and most vigorous free states in the Union, presents a strange spectacle to the world when she allows herself to be bound hand and foot, and used by the slave power in sustaining a system of labor which she will not tolerate within her own borders. Oregon and Washington Territory have been in the same position. The territory of New Mexico also maintains a peculiar attitude as regards this great question. That country is occupied by the original Mexican population. There are few whites, but among these are army and federal officers who manage affairs after their own fashion. Early in 1859 the legislature passed an act protecting slave property and forbidding the emancipation of slaves within the limits of the territory. There are no slaves in the territory at the present time, except a few captive Indians, and here and there a negro owned by army officers; and every intelligent individual in that region knows that practical slavery never can be carried into New Mexico; and yet that territory legislates in favor of slavery and votes under its influence in Congress. Arizona, if organized under a territorial government, would doubtless follow her example. This extraordinary and seemingly anomalous state of affairs in these distant states and territories, is explained by the two words, FEDERAL PATRONAGE, dispensed, it is true, by the slave power. But this is no evidence of an "irrepressible conflict" between the systems of free and slave labor; on the contrary, it is irrefragable evidence that the contest is for power and spoils. Federal patronage holds territory that a Higher Power has decreed shall not be given over to slavery.

PUBLIC OPINION ON MEXICO.

The interest with which we have watched the progress of the present revolution in Mexico, and the fate of those relations which the American minister, Mr. McLANE, sought to establish with that country, has doubtless caused us to be particularly heedful of every expression of public opinion on these subjects. This watchful interest has caused us to view with astonishment, not unmixed with chagrin, the manner in which every sound argument, and every statement of facts in favor of the liberal cause in Mexico, has been opposed throughout those countries called Christian and enlightened, especially the United States. No sooner has any thing of this nature fallen upon the public eye, than perversions, false statements, or flat denials, have sprung up in all quarters; and for the time being, truth has been overcome by error. In evidence of this, we shall publish in the first series of the MEXICAN PAPERS, a collection of articles on our subject, selected from a mass of matter emanating from high and distinguished sources. The quoted extracts and articles are chosen with reference to the sources and the localities from which they emanate; and we publish them as furnishing a fair exposition of public opinion, both in this country and Europe, relative to Mexico.

It is not proposed to review or answer this eclectic collection in detail. They are given in the first numbers of the MEXICAN PAPERS, in order to bring the subject squarely before the public at the outset; and only such reference will be made to their prominent points as is necessary for that purpose.

An article entitled "THE REVOLUTIONS AND DICTATORS OF SOUTH AMERICA," that appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris, May 15, 1860, is the first of our selection. Thirty pages of the French semi-monthly are occupied with matter appertaining to the Spanish-American countries, in which an attempt is made to set forth some of the ethnological peculiarities of the people, their religious and political characteristics, and to enlighten the public as to the causes of the long-continued and prevailing anarchy of those unhappy regions.

We publish that portion relating to Mexico:

[Translated from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for the MEXICAN PAPERS.]

" It is now half a century since the Spanish-American republics commenced their efforts to obtain independence, and for half a century the drama has continued. When will it terminate? This is the problem of the whole of South America; and to such a question the most instructive response is, a glance cast upon the recent agitations in all those countries scattered over the Spanish New World—Mexico, Central America, those states which heretofore formed Columbia, and which border on the Pacific, even to Peru and Chili—the republics, in fine, occupying in their quarrels the great fluvial basin of the *Rio de la Plata.*

" We will then, if you wish, take a view of the revolutions and dictators of South America.

" MEXICO has a good right to pre-eminence in the history of American anarchy. Since she became an independent state, she has passed through many singular vicissitudes. We find her an empire in 1822 under Iturbide—an empire quite ephemeral—continuing less than one year. Since that period, the question has been, shall Mexico be a *federative* or a *unitarian* republic?[*] shall she be governed by the conservatives, or shall she pass under the sway of the radicals, who, by a *bizarre* euphony, are called *puros?*

" The revolutions and the presidencies, the successive *plans* of regeneration which this question has brought forth, can scarcely be recounted. The difficulties which have for some time agitated Mexico, and which the civil war has thrown to the surface more prominent than ever, are not the immediate cause of the perpetual conflicts. These difficulties have their origin several years back in the revolution against the last dictator, General Santa Ana.

" The prime mover in this revolution was General Alvarez, an old Indian, who has passed his life in the state of Guerrero, where he was raised under a sort of feudal sovereignty, and who dragged his bands of Indian *pintos*[†] even to the city of Mexico. The result of this movement was clearly the predominance of radical democracy. The evidence of the triumph of the revolution was the constitution of 1857, which re-established the democratic idea. Finally, a man of the moment, M. Comonfort, who at first, was nothing more than a lieutenant under General Alvarez, became president so soon as the old Indian Alvarez regained the state of Guerrero, with his bands of savages. Success more ephemeral than ever! Between the radicals who suspected him of moderate tendencies, and a conservative reaction which already appeared menacing, M. Comonfort despaired. This was in 1858. A military *pronunciamento*, started in the first instance by the president, was soon after turned against him, overthrowing this powerless dictator in a day, and giving the power to a new chief, General Felix Zuloaga, who assumed the government, sustained by the army, and invested with the mission to carry out the *plan* called the "*plan of Tacubaya*," destined, like all the others, to effect the regeneration of Mexico. This was a success for the conservative party, which thus suddenly saw itself delivered from the domination of the *puros.* Unhappily, the democratic party, conquered in the city of Mexico, appeared in the provinces and raised the flag of the constitution of 1857. The vice-president of the republic, a little Indian named Benito Juarez, organized a *pseudo-legal* government in the name of the constitution; after having wandered from city to city, he finally established himself in Vera Cruz, which city the revolutionary party was fortunate enough to secure.

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[*] La question est de savoir si le Mexique sera une république féderative ou une république unitaire.

[†] Spotted Indians.

" We have thus two governments in Mexico. The one established in the city of Mexico has the army, the clergy and all the conservative interests. Though not a power of regular origin, it was, after all, master of the capital and the only power recognized by the foreign governments, the representatives of which immediately came forward and established diplomatic relations with it. The other government, an expression of the legal revolutionist who was conquered in the city of Mexico, is personified in M. Benito Juarez, master of Vera Cruz, the principal port of the republic. He laid his hands upon the custom-houses and possessed himself of a pecuniary resource which enabled him to live and wait. In default of an army, he found in the provinces, partisans who came forth to defend him—old governors, lawyers transformed into generals, chiefs of bands always ready to pillage and ravage the country under any flag. The cause called " constitutional" was at the same time supported in the north by a personage no less curious in these last years, Santiago Vidaurri, of Indian blood, opinionated and energetic, his head full of confused ideas and still more of ambition. M. Vidaurri has passed thirty years in opening the way to power; and he has reached power, being master of the provinces adjoining the United States, which provinces he has threatened more than once to detach from Mexico, and form a new republic, to be called " *Sierra Madre.*" For the moment, he was the auxiliary of Juarez.

" The struggle was then inaugurated. The first necessity of the government, which held the city of Mexico, was evidently to break down the combination of resistances by which it was surrounded, in order to pacify the republic, and to organize it after some mode a little more regular.

" In the state of Jalisco, on the north, a division of the army under the orders of two young and energetic officers, Osollo and Miramon, obtained some success. Osollo brought many Constitutional chiefs to capitulate, captured several cities, and was pursuing the campaign victoriously, when he suddenly fell in battle. This was a loss to the government of Mexico, for Osollo was an officer of capacity and resolution of whom they stood in great need. This loss was, however, repaired by the presence in the army of the north, of a man still quite young, equally vigorous, and who at the same time had taken an important part in the affairs of Mexico. This was the General Miguel Miramon, who, up to this time, had been the lieutenant of Osollo, and who now assumed the highest rank by the death of his superior. Miramon took the direction of the war with new energy. Gifted with a quick military intelligence, and full of confidence in himself, he evinced an indefatigable activity, beating the factions in all encounters, and elevating to ascendency the conservative party, in such a manner as to turn, by degrees, all eyes upon the young general whom nothing could resist.

" The victories of Miramon unfortunately produced no political result. While the army of the north was well conducted, and beat the Constitutionalists, the army of the east, commanded by Echeagaray, and directed against Vera Cruz, lost time in its powerless operations. The government of Mexico showed itself destitute of all spirit of initiation; it failed in expedients, and drew no profit from advantages obtained by the army of the north. General Zuloaga, the president, elevated to power in 1858, developed deplorable mediocrity as a statesman, and soon came to be regarded with universal disrespect and distrust. This resulted in a kind of equilibrium between the government in Mexico, in the name of which Miguel Miramon followed his successes so uselessly, and the government which continued to live in Vera Cruz, and emboldened by the ineffectual operations directed against it. All the advantages which appeared to favor the power of Zuloaga the recognition by the *corps diplomatique*, and the successes of an able general, served in no degree to decide the question between the parties. This peculiar state of affairs brought fresh disasters upon Mexico. General Echeagaray, instead of turning his efforts against Vera Cruz, which he was charged to take, got up an insurrection against President Zuloaga, from whom he held his powers. Echeagaray made his movement at Ayotla, in publishing, according to custom, a new political *plan*. The 23d of December, 1858, General Robles Pezuela, commander of the garrison in Mexico, put forth in his turn a *plan*, which was nothing more than that of Ayotla, a little modified. Zuloaga had just time to find refuge with the British legation, when Robles became master of the capital and of the government. The intent of this *pronunciamento*, the offspring of universal disorder, was the fusion, or the reconciliation of the two contending parties. A committee was speedily nominated, consisting of General Mariana Salas, the lawyer Castañeda, and General Casanova. A meeting of one hundred and fifty notables took place a few days after, to elect a provisional president, until the permanent organization of the republic by a congress in which all parties should be represented. Two things remained to be known: the first, how M. Juarez would reply, in the name of the Constitutionalists, to this offer of conciliation addressed to him; second, what would be the attitude of Miramon in view of the events about to take place. M. Juarez replied with disdain to the propositions transmitted to him. As for Miramon, he was far away, and at the hour even when this crisis flashed upon Mexico, he gained a decided victory over one of the Constitutional chiefs, Santos Degollado. One thing was, however, apparent. Upon the commander of the army of the north depended, in a great measure, the success of the movement in the city of Mexico. This crisis even augmented the importance of the young general, and his star was so completely in the ascendant, that when the *junta* assembled, on the 15th of January, 1859, to elect a provisional president, the majority united upon him. Miramon received fifty-two votes, and Robles forty-six. Miramon, who had now quitted the army, found himself elected—without his knowing it—supreme chief of the republic, in place of Zuloaga, revolutionarily deposed. It is quite characteristic that, at the time of this election, no one knew even the opinions of Miramon relative to recent events.

" It proved, however, that the commander in the north energetically condemned the military sedition that had overthrown Zuloaga. As a conservative, he refused to be associated in a movement which was nothing more than an impolitic advance made to the revolutionary party. As a military man, he was exasperated by the act which made no account of the blood shed by his soldiers. Miramon thus replied to the overture made to him by Robles in order to obtain his adhesion. It was also in the same disposition that he received at Guadalajara the notice of his election. Could he suffer himself to be purchased by the bribe offered to his ambition, and would he accept the benefit of a movement, the nature of which he condemned? None knew his designs. Perhaps he knew not himself what he would do. Drawing near to Mexico without too much haste, Miramon arrived at that city on the 21st of January, 1859, and all began to perceive that the young officer who had departed nearly unknown, returned in a few months the master. This was a new personage in the political history of the Mexican republic—a personage truly remarkable—who, at the age of twenty-six years had come to be something like dictator without any manifestation of eagerness and without any intrigue. It is not generally known that this man who has appeared on the stage within a year, and who now acts one of the principal parts in Mexican affairs, is of French origin. His family is of Béarn and belongs to the *noblesse.* They emigrated to Spain in the last century; the grandfather of Don Miguel Miramon went to Mexico as aid-de-camp to one of the viceroys; his father, M. Bernardo Miramon, married in the country and there remained, and he is now one of the oldest Mexican generals. The actual president, born of this mixture of French and Spanish blood, has been a student of the military college of Ch~~e~~pultepec. He commenced his career in fighting against the North Americans, but in 1858 he was only known as a young officer noted for his bravery. The cam-

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paign, the direction of which fell to him on the death of Osollo, revealed the possession of the gift of command, extraordinary firmness, promptitude, decision and brilliant valor, united to a certain reserve in his acts and words. It is by these qualities that Miramon is able to inspire his soldiers with that entire confidence which they have in him, and which culminated in the support of the political world of Mexico. Thus, being master of the position, his arrival was awaited with lively anxiety. Miramon arrived in Mexico the 21st January, 1859, without escort, and avoiding all official demonstration, he goes directly to his father. He arrived in no very amicable mood, aware of his power and concealing nothing of his severe sentiments. He received every one with *hauteur*. Old General Salas volunteered to tell him that if he wished to restore Zuloaga he would receive no support. Miramon replied that he relied on his sword only. He at once ordered General Robles, an officer of the engineer corps, to prepare to accompany him on a campaign which he meditated against Vera Cruz. Old generals, and others, murmured greatly at the domineering manner of this youth of twenty-six years, this *muchacho* as they called him, for they were not accustomed to be treated thus. Nevertheless, they submitted to his authority. Without accepting the presidency which devolved upon him by the vote of the *junta*, Miramon caused himself to be named commander-in-chief of the Mexican army. Two days after he replaced Zuloaga in the presidency. The movement of Generals Robles and Echeagaray was entirely ignored. Zuloaga was then solemnly re-established January 24th, 1859.

" It was very clear, however, that his power was entirely overshadowed by the haughty protector who thus placed him at his feet. No one was deceived. Zuloaga alone had, perhaps, the simplicity to believe it all serious. To all Mexico, his situation was nothing more than an artifice, and in admitting even this restoration as an homage rendered to the semblance of legality, all felt that the supreme magistracy ought to devolve upon the one who was in reality *the* power. General Zuloaga, under the pressure of public opinion, was constrained to recognize this, and scarcely a week had passed ere he abdicated the presidential chair by a decree in favor of Miramon. This time Miramon accepted the situation, and the 20th of February, 1859, he assumed supreme power and delivered an address in which he told some hard truths to all, even to his own party, and which the conservatives heard with astonishment. Henceforth, we can, perhaps, forgive errors in the new president arising from inexperience, and more than all, from the dreadful condition of the country.

" The first thought of Miramon was to destroy the government of M. Juarez in the citadel of Vera Cruz. There lay, in his eyes, the knot of the question. After having formed a ministry and obtained funds by an extraordinary impost, the president departed from Mexico on the 16th of February and directed his forces against Vera Cruz. If Miramon had had nothing more than the enemy before him to conquer, he would doubtless have succeeded. But he was in one of those confused situations where all things are constantly changing. His operations, slow at first, were soon neutralized by a series of circumstances entirely beyond his control, and had the effect to hold him in check by multiplying the difficulties about him.

" When Miramon was at the head of the army of the north, he beat the Constitutionalists in every encounter, and brought about a semblance of pacification. In his absence, the Constitutionalists recovered their activity, and reunited in the interior to the number of seven or eight thousand, under the orders of Don Santos Degollado, who held the title of minister of war. Degollado captured the city of Guanajuato, and marched upon Mexico. This army pillaged the country through which it passed, and arrived at Tacubaya March 21, 1859. Mexico was besieged, and rendered liable to assault daily. April 15th, the Constitutionalists attacked the gate of e / *San Cosm~~o~~*, and, though repulsed, their threatening forces remained at Tacubaya. During this state of affairs, one of Miramon's most energetic officers, Leonardo Marquez, arrived with additional forces. These immediately followed up the Federals, and vigorously pursued them afar. At last Miramon himself arrived to the succor of the capital, being obliged to return for this purpose from his Vera Cruz expedition.

"An incident of another character now took place, calculated somewhat to modify the character of the contending parties, by giving a certain credit, a species of national authenticity, to the government of M. Juarez and his adherents. Up to this period, the government in the city of Mexico had the advantage of being the only one recognized by the foreign powers. The representative of the United States even, Mr. Forsyth, had remained accredited to Zuloaga. In the first part of 1859, however, it appeared that the cabinet at Washington was disposed to make a complete change in its policy with the Mexican republic. Mr. Forsyth was replaced by a new envoy, Mr. McLane, who immediately recognized M. Juarez. How can this evolution be explained? Thus: soon after the advent of Zuloaga, Mr. Forsyth thought to take advantage of the embarrassing circumstances attending a new government not firmly established, in order to obtain some new concession to the insatiable ambition of the American Union. He had proposed a treaty, guaranteeing to the United States a cession of territory, disguised under the form of a rectification of the northern frontier, the right of way in perpetuity across the isthmus of Tejuantepec—all in consideration of a pecuniary consideration to Mexico. The cabinet of Zuloaga refused decidedly to enter into such a negotiation, held out as an offering of succor, an act of generosity on the part of the United States. From this moment Mr. Forsyth manifested very little sympathy for the government of Mexico. He became angry, and, in fact, favored the conspirators, demanding, with imperious rigor, reclamation on the part of those American citizens whose interests were disturbed by the civil war. In short, there was a rupture. The troubles of the North Americans were serious, as were those of other foreigners. It was, however, a singular logic that held the government of Mexico responsible for the acts committed by its enemies, and then turned to the government of Vera Cruz, the defenders of which were those who committed the acts! This change of policy on the part of the United States evidently had a motive foreign to the reclamations of American citizens. It was desirable to obtain from M. Juarez that which Mr. Forsyth could not obtain from

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General Zuloaga. The new envoy, Mr. McLane, arrived at Vera Cruz early in April, 1859. He was, it is said, furnished with instructions which authorized him to take the responsibility of deciding which of the two governments he would recognize. Scarcely had he been in Vera Cruz twenty-four hours before he resolved to recognize M. Juarez.

"Acknowledged by the United States; free for the moment from all threatened attack by the necessity which obliged Miramon to return to Mexico; aided at the same time by the bands called '*constitutionalists*' who maintained the war in the interior, M. Juarez found a respite, and he concluded to profit by it by renewing legislatively the war against the church opened by the last revolution. Civil marriage was instituted by decree, and a manifesto appeared announcing all sorts of reform, crowned by that of despoiling the clergy. This last measure was instituted in order to lure all those speculators who were to be enriched at any price, and in conformity with the new relations established between the North Americans and M. Juarez, that the ecclesiastical property should be a ready guarantee to offer to the United States in any negotiation that might be made. The cabinet of Mexico protested against the law confiscating the church property, as it had already protested against the acknowledgment of Juarez by the United States. In advance, it repudiated all sale of church property, the same as it declared null any treaty which should be made between the cabinet at Vera Cruz and the North Americans.

"This was a war of decrees, of laws, and of protests, added to that of arms, which continued to desolate the country. Naturally, the government of Mexico was entirely opposed to that of Vera Cruz. To the manifesto of Juarez, Miramon offered another manifesto, in which he exposed with acerbity the afflictions of his country. Unhappily, the young President had more intrepidity and capacity on the battle-field than experience in the management of public affairs. In the month of July, 1859, seduced by the fair projects of a young man, M. Carlos de la Peza, who represented that he possessed the secret of negotiating the finances of Mexico, Miramon made him minister of finance. The scheme of M. Peza was cast aside when the inefficiency of his secret had been but too well demonstrated. These spasmodic movements appertained less to the governing qualities of Miramon than to the insurmountable difficulties of the situation. But the military forces of Mexico maintained their advantage. General Leonardo Marquez, at the head of the army of the north, maintained the ascendency. Other chiefs, Woll and Vicario, obtained successes. Cobos beat the factionists at Teotitlan and captured Oajaca, the key of the states of Chiapas, Tabasco, and Tejuantepec. M. Santiago Vidaurri, who had sustained Juarez, pronounced against him in the month of September, or at least proclaimed himself neutral between the two parties. All this, however, brought no result, and on the 4th of November, 1859, Miramon suddenly departed for Queretaro nearly alone, and at the risk of being captured by the federals.

"Arrived at Queretaro, Miramon was apprised that the constitutionalists, headed by Degollado, Doblado, Blanco, Arteaga, and numbering some seven or eight thousand men, had united to attack Gunajuato. He speedily called together such forces as were at hand, procured artillery from Mexico, and marched upon the constitutional army. Before coming in contact, Miramon and Degollado had an interview, in which the latter proposed to acknowledge the former president if he would accept under the constitution of 1857, reserving to a Congress the power of making reforms. Miramon decidedly declined. Degollado, on the strength of superior numbers, assumed a menacing tone. Miramon evinced no emotion, but replied, 'Very well, Don Santos, though I have but half your force, to-morrow morning I shall have the honor of conquering you.' In effect, the next day, at the *Estancia de las Vacas*, Miramon dispersed the constitutional army, and this new success restored the *prestige*, which had been somewhat weakened by the political tergiversations which had taken place during his residence in the capital. Miramon's activity and audacity always, happily, restored the confidence which had elevated him to supreme power.

"Battles in Mexico are rarely decisive, and this civil war, which has already continued two years, appears no nearer its *dénouement* than ever,—the end always fleeing, yet always said to be approaching. Since the month of January, 1858, they have had eight battles of importance, twenty-four combats of second order, thirty-nine inferior engagements; in all, seventy-one actions, of which only sixteen have been gained by the constitutionalists. Furthermore, the civil war is nothing more than a pretext to commit all sorts of excesses and depredations. In reality, the party called federal, or '*constitutionaliste*,' as it is named in Mexico, is nothing more than a gathering of undisciplined bands ravaging the country. Each chief acts on his own account, and these chiefs are innumerable. The most distinguished for their misdeeds are Carabajal, Alatrista, Pueblita, Villalba, and Alvarez.

"In the month of May, 1859, the federals plundered the mint of Guanajuato of $180,000. Of this, $90,000 belonged to English citizens. One of the ministers of Juarez, M. Zamora, stated that this was nothing more than a temporary use of the funds of foreigners to meet the pressing need of the federal army. At Tepic, Coronado, a constitutional general, extorted from M. Alsop, British consul, the sum of $11,000. At another point, Colonel Carretero captured a train of six hundred mules with their cargoes, belonging to the traders of Puebla. In the month of November, the federals, in their flight from Oajaca, took one hundred pounds of silver from a church. These barbarous chiefs of Mexican radicalism found a new method of raising means in the capture of padres and monks, whom they released for money. At Zacatecas they captured eight padres and released them for $8,500. At San Luis the liberty of one cost $10,000.

"The lives of foreigners are no more secure than their interests or the lives and interests of native-born citizens. One day during the siege of Mexico, some Germans of a truth, choosing well their day, projected an excursion to the Great Desert. They rested at night at the ranch of Cuaji-Malpa, intending to continue their course in the morning. They were quietly playing whist, when the doors were forced open and one of their number, Doctor Fuchs, fell, struck by a ball. All were robbed. The muleteers at this ranch engaged in transporting goods to

Toluca were of the same sort—all of them crying, '*Viva la federacion.*' It cannot be said that all the chiefs who fight for the government of Mexico are absolutely innocent of misdeeds of this kind. For instance, in the month of November, 1859, General Marquez robbed a convoy of silver at Guadalajara of $600,000 to pay his army. It should be stated that Miramon, on being apprised of the fact, manifested the liveliest indignation. He immediately ordered the restitution of the silver, and deprived Marquez of the command of the army of the north.

"Such is the history of Mexico, of her revolutions, her civil war and anarchy. The respective situation of the two parties cannot be better defined than by one of the most recent episodes in the history. That which was readily foreseen in consequence of the new relations formed between the United States and the government called 'constitutional' of Vera Cruz, is realized. The North Americans never intended to recognize the government of Juarez without compensation, without hope of advantage; and Juarez on his part was driven *to seek aid from the United States.* Upon this, a negotiation was commenced soon after the arrival of Mr. McLane, which terminated in a treaty conceived upon a basis which Mr. Forsyth had ineffectually proposed to Mexico. This treaty is, in fact, a disguised cession of a portion of the Mexican territory, and a sort of high protectorate established for the benefit of the United States. Juarez expected, without doubt, to obtain power in the support which he had purchased of the North Americans. But he did not count upon the unpopularity with which the McLane treaty was received even by his own partisans, and that which he regarded as strength, an earnest or success, has become a cause of discredit and weakness. The United States, even, appear to hesitate in sustaining the entire action of their plenipotentiary, and now we find M. Juarez compromised and menaced more than ever. In fact, no sooner had M. Juarez signed the treaty with the American Union, than Miramon went into the country, got together new forces with which to operate more seriously and more decisively against Vera Cruz. It is not long since the United States came to the aid of M. Juarez, and without ceremony captured two steamships destined to second the operations of Miramon. This damaged his operations, without, however, discouraging him. The true parties are, therefore, always in view, and the question is correctly stated if this account can obtain the semblance of truth in the midst of so much anarchy."

THE foregoing article from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* may be considered a fair exposition of public opinion in France relative to Mexico, and as such, we place it on the record. The writer of the article makes an egregious geographical error at the outset. He heads his article, "*The Revolutions and the Dictators of South America*," refers only to that division of the western continent in his opening remarks, and commences his flight of fancy in *Mexico!* There would be just as much propriety in placing California or Canada south of the Isthmus of Darien, as there is in drawing the line of that Isthmus north of Mexico. This error is of no great importance in itself, yet it shows what very erroneous conceptions are afloat in some of the higher order of European minds relative to the simplest matters of fact, even, regarding this continent. A few years since, there was brought out on the Parisian boards, a new French play, the scene of which was laid in America, and a cotton plantation formed the staple of the plot—said plantation being located near Boston, Massachusetts.

It is reasonable to infer that the entire article on Spanish America, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, was made up of material furnished by the French legations stationed in the respective Spanish American countries. That portion relating to Mexico, and which appears in the MEXICAN PAPERS, we are fully justified in stating, came from the French legation in the city of Mexico when in charge of M. GABRIAC, as we have seen the substance of the same in the Miramon government journals, and which, at the time, was attributed to the French minister. The knowledge of this fact is, of itself, sufficient to destroy all confidence in the truth or justice of the remarks contained in the French review, since the fact that M. GABRIAC took the part of a most unscrupulous partisan in sustaining the fortunes of Miramon and the Mexican church,[1] has now become notorious.

The writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* states that the present difficulties in Mexico have their origin several years back in the revolution against the last dictator, Santa Anna, the prime mover in this revolution being General Alvarez. What profundity, what extraordinary political acumen in Mexican affairs do we find here! We venture to assert, that the present revolution in Mexico has its origin several hundred years back, when Spanish priests and soldiers enslaved the Mexican nation.

Our French reviewer adverts significantly to the Indian blood of Alvarez, Juarez, and other liberals, and then with a flourish of words, brings forth Miramon, the revolutionary president, as a choice extract, a splendid shoot from pure French and Castilian stock. This personage is first made prominent as the successor of Osollo, commander of the army of the north, who is stated to have fallen suddenly in battle. Osollo did not fall in battle, but he died in his bed, some say of fever, and it is a subject of remark in Mexico that his liberal tendencies gave the priests and their adherents lively concern, which concern was relieved by his death. In the account of the life of Miramon after he appeared prominent on the stage, the attempt is made to invent an analogy in the career of the Mexican guerrilla chief, and that of the elder Napoleon as general and first consul. Miramon, in his own country, is called by his countrymen in anger, *asesino;* and in ridicule, *Macabeo.* These appellations convey *multum in parvo.* Miramon is a Mexican of thoroughly mixed blood, his parentage not being known beyond his own country with any degree of distinctness. The statement relative to his military and civil acts is a thorough perversion of facts and pure invention from first to last, and the attempt to display Miramon before the world as a man of high courage, generous impulses, and transcendant abilities, either in military or civil affairs, must have tortured the brain of his eulogist beyond endurance.

Another effort of the French reviewer ought not to pass unnoticed. It is wherein he endeavors to stigmatize the liberal party of Mexico as made up of unprincipled hordes, ravaging and laying waste the country, under innumerable chiefs, of which the most distinguished for their misdeeds are CARABAJAL, ALATRISTE, VILLALBA, and ALVAREZ. The liberals are charged with plundering the mint at Guanajuato in May, 1859, of $180,000 belonging to English citizens. CORONADO, a constitutional general, is represented to have extorted $11,000 from the British consul at Tepic, etc.

It is acknowledged that the federal chiefs do not commit all the robberies, since General MARQUEZ, commander of the church army in the north, did, in November, 1859, abstract from a convoy of silver at Guadalajara, *en route* for the Pacific, the modest sum of $600,000 to pay his army, which act on the part of his general, raised the virtuous indignation of MIRAMON, who ordered the restitution of the silver and deprived MARQUEZ of his command.

It cannot be denied that, heretofore, Mexican warfare has been characterized by infamous acts of rapine and plunder. The present revolution has been pre-eminently distinguished for wholesale massacres, and the extent to which gigantic schemes of robbery and devastation have been carried. But the French writer is entirely mistaken when he charges these acts upon the liberal or constitutional party.

It is true that petty brigand chiefs, taking advantage of the anarchical state of the country, have arisen and committed depredations in various quarters, sometimes in the name of one party and sometimes in the name of another, but more frequently on their own responsibility, and neither party can be considered directly responsible for their acts. The truth lies in this: *the system of murder, rapine, and plunder, under which Mexico has suffered since the present revolution commenced, is but the system of the priests and their adherents, which war has invariably developed to a barbarous degree.* Call to mind the forced loans commenced in the city of Mexico three years ago by ZULOAGA, "*por una sola vez*," and followed up, times innumerable, by MIRAMON, MARQUEZ, WOLL, ROBLES, NEGRETE, COBOS, MEJIA, and a host of merciless guerrilla chiefs in the reactionary forces, who have laid every city and town in the republic of any note, under forced contributions; and any other country, less rich than Mexico, would, under this system of plunder, have given up the ghost financially long ago. Recount the almost innumerable butcheries perpetrated by MIRAMON and his partisans, not omitting that of Tacubaya in 1859, and the wanton destruction of life at the siege of Vera Cruz, April, 1860. From advices just received, we learn that General ROBLES is laying waste the country about Tlacolulan and killing the defenceless Indians; and as for COBOS, MARQUEZ, and MEJIA, they are coarse, bloody murderers and robbers of the worst degree, and any cause that tolerates such monsters must be iniquitous.

To charge this barbarous system of warfare upon the liberals is, therefore, a reckless and heinous misrepresentation of the facts. If the liberal party has erred at all, it has erred on the side of mercy. Its responsible chiefs, such as JUAREZ, DEGOLLADO, OCAMPO, URAGA, ALVAREZ, ZARAGOZA, ORTEGA, and others, have never imposed forced loans on the people, or been guilty of a single act of plunder as the means of sustaining their cause. The liberals did take $180,000 from the mint of Guanajuato. This money was put into bags of $1,000 each, and the bags delivered to 180 men belonging to the liberal army, with orders to scatter and rendezvous with the cash on a certain hill in the neighborhood. Every one of the 180 men was faithful to his trust. The commanding officer of the liberal forces who took the responsibility of seizing this silver, gave the owners thereof drafts on the constitutional government at Vera Cruz. Though distressed for means, that government promptly paid those drafts. Surely, a party that pursues such a course as this, is determined to sustain itself on strictly honorable principles. How this prompt and satisfactory statement of the Guanajuato mint affair contrasts with the innumerable and unsettled acts of outrageous plunder by the opposing faction! Among these is that of ROBLES at *Puenta National*, where those interested in the *conducta* of specie were glad to submit to the robbery of $30,000 in order to save the balance. Also, the robbery of the *conducta* at Guadalajara by MARQUEZ, the facts respecting which robbery are misrepresented by the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. This *conducta*, consisting of about $1,500,000, was *en route* for San Blas, for shipment to Europe. MARQUEZ took possession of the entire *conducta*, and at first it appeared as though the whole of it would be plundered. Then $600,000 was considered sufficient, but finally, after abstracting $200,000, the balance was suffered to proceed on its journey. MIRAMON, on hearing of this robbery, started post-haste from the capital for the headquarters of MARQUEZ. MIRAMON had been suspicious and jealous of MARQUEZ for several months, the latter having evinced a disposition to *pronounce* for himself. Fearing that the possession of such an amount of money would give MARQUEZ too much power, and being largely interested personally, it is said, in the specie bound for Europe, MIRAMON lost no time in pouncing down upon his would-be rival in robbery. MARQUEZ was inveigled to the city of Mexico, trapped, and cast into prison, where he now lies, a prisoner of state, with his ambitious schemes nipped in the bud. The church army squandered the $200,000. No restitution of the money was ordered, and not one dollar has been or ever will be restored. It is by such simple explanations as these, that the monstrous network of fabrication, woven by the plunderers of Mexico around their evil doings, may be destroyed. One more instance, and we leave this part of the subject for the present. General CORONADO is said to have extorted $10,000 from the British consul at Tepic. We cannot explain this matter better than to quote from a letter dated Mazatlan, May 31, and which appears in the *New Orleans Picayune*, July 4, 1860.

> "For a long time the English have been smuggling the coin of Mexico out of the country, and the consuls of the different seaports have been acting as agents in this contraband trade. San Blas was one of the chief depots of export while it was in the hands of the church party, and the consul there had been engaged in several heavy 'runs.' When, however, the partisans of Miramon had to give way to the stronger force of the liberals, the latter attempted to put a stop to this smuggling by implicating the English consul and threatening to take summary measures against him, which, however, passed unheeded, that gentleman well knowing that he was backed by a strong fleet, which would at a moment's warning resent any insult offered to the English flag or the person of its representative.

"Several times had the steamer *Alert* shown herself around San Blas, meaning thereby to force the liberals into silent acquiescence to the conduct of their consul. Nothing daunted, however, the liberals kept vigilant watch, and at a recent 'run,' *the consul was caught in the act, and imprisoned until he would pay the duties on his two last adventures*—those duties amounted to the snug little sum of $10,000, which he had to pay before he was released from 'durance vile.' The steamers *Alert and Amethyst* were then at Mazatlan, and when the news of the imprisonment of the English consul reached the captains of the above vessels, *they blockaded this port, and threatened a bombardment if the citizens of Mazatlan did not, within a specified time, make up the* $10,000, *which the captain of the Alert asserted had been illegally pressed from the English consul at San Blas.* All representations that San Blas and Mazatlan were under different provincial governments were useless, and the money had to be forthcoming.

"Not satisfied with this unheard of extortion, the *Alert* and *Amethyst* steamed down to San Blas, blockaded that port, and after a stout resistance on the part of the liberals, landed a garrison under Capt. Grenvelt, of the *Amethyst*, and *declared the province under English martial law.* The opposition party, taking advantage of this covert assistance of the English, were regaining some advantages, and the liberals, to get rid of one of their tormentors, at least, were obliged to yield to any demands that the English consul might make for damages. The exact amount I could not learn, but that it was not a trifling sum you may be assured. The siege was raised on Monday, May 28th, the *Alert* coming up here, and the *Amethyst* remaining at San Blas.

"The English version of the story differs somewhat from the above, but not materially; they acknowledge the facts, assigning, however, slightly different causes."

We can endorse the truth of the foregoing statement, and add that a dark tale of crime and oppression is connected with the history of smuggling in Mexico, particularly under English auspices on the Pacific coast.

There is much in the temper and tone of the article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, especially wherein it refers to the supposed pre-determination of the United States to absorb Mexico, that reminds one of a sensation pamphlet which appeared in Paris more than a year since, entitled "*The Latin Race.*" It is much to be regretted that the editor of the *Revue* should be induced, by national predilections and the prejudice of race, to prostitute the columns of his respectable and influential periodical to so ignoble a purpose as that of disseminating a document, the distinguishing feature of which is, a total disregard and disdain of the principal facts relating to the great question upon which it treats. It is no agreeable task to enter upon the foregoing strong and unqualified denial of the French writer's statements. But it is only in this summary manner that we can deal with the brazen impudence, the bigotry, and the deep-seated lust for power and gold, that is causing to be sent forth broadcast throughout both hemispheres, wretched tirades against liberty and decency in Mexico.

The following table gives the population, area in square miles, and density of population per square mile, of those countries on this continent upon which the *Revue des Deux Mondes* treats:—

Countries.		Population.	Area square miles.	Density of Population per square mile.
† Mexico		8,283,088	766,482	10.8
* Guatemala	Cent. Am.	971,450	43,380	22.4
* San Salvador		394,000	9,600	41.0
* Honduras		358,000	39,600	9.5
* Nicaragua		257,000	40,200	6.3
* Costa Rica		215,000	21,800	9.8
* Granadian confederation	South America.	2,363,054	521,948	4.5
* Venezuela		1,361,386	426,712	3.1
* Ecuador		1,108,042	206,692	5.3
* Peru		2,106,492	498,726	4.2
* Bolivia		2,326,126	473,298	4.9
* Chili		1,558,319	249,952	6.2
* Argentine Republic		1,459,355	1,126,265	1.2
* Uraguay		177,300	73,538	2.4
* Paraguay		600,000	86,102	6.9
* Brazil		7,677,800	2,973,406	2.5
Total		31,216,412	7,557,701	

Countries.		Year.	Imports.	Average per Capita.	Exports.	Average per Capita.	Total Foreign Commerce.	Average per Capita.
Mexico		1856	$26,000,000	$3,14	$28,000,000	$3,38	$54,000,000	$6,52
Guatemala	Central America.	1858	1,223,770	1,25	1,924,509	1,98	3,148,279	3,23
San Salvador		1858	1,246,720	3,16	1,585,485	4,02	2,832,205	7,18
Honduras		1855	937,289	2,61	745,901	2,08	1,683,190	4,69
Nicaragua		1855	972,851	3,78	958,572	3,73	1,931,423	7,51
Costa Rica		1858	1,267,387	5,89	1,351,779	6,28	2,619,166	12,17
Granadian Confederation	South America.	1856	3,255,843	1,37	7,064,584	2,98	10,320,427	4,36
Venezuela		1856	5,597,129	4,11	6,636,104	4,87	12,233,233	8,98
Ecuador		1856	2,626,706	2,37	2,723,141	2,45	5,349,847	4,82
Peru		1853	9,087,894	4,31	16,880,377	8,01	25,968,271	12,32
Bolivia		1853	1,359,585	,58	1,422,716	,61	2,782,301	1,19
Chili		1857	19,804,041	12,70	20,126,461	12,91	39,930,502	25,62
Argentine Republic		1855	11,394,000	7,80	15,260,986	10,45	26,654,986	18,26
Uraguay		1856	4,586,317	25,86	10,303,853	58,11	14,890,170	83,98
Paraguay		1856	610,865	1,[illegible]1	1,006,059	1,67	1,616,924	2,68
Brazil		1857	68,808,865	8,96	63,613,005	8,28	132,421,870	17,24
Total Foreign Commerce of the Spanish American Colonies							$338,382,794	

* From Journal of American Geographical and Statistical Society.

† From Garcia y Cuba's Statistical Maps, Ministry of Fomento, Mexico.

The preceding table gives an exhibit of the imports, exports, total foreign commerce, and average per capita of the same countries.

Annexed is a recapitulation of the foregoing, including Cuba and other West India Islands; to which are added, the United States and Canada:—

Countries.	Imports.	Average per Capita.	Exports.	Average per Capita.	Total Foreign Commerce.	Average per Capita.
Mexico	$26,000,000	$3,14	$28,000,000	$3,38	$54,000,000	$6,52
Cuba	39,560,299	27,29	46,792,055	32,28	86,352,354	59,57
Other West India Islands	41,813,262	16,74	37,188,283	14,89	79,001,545	31,63
Central America	5,648,017	2,57	6,566,246	2,99	12,214,263	5,56
South America	127,131,245	6,13	145,037,286	6,99	272,168,531	13,12
Total Spanish America	240,152,823	6,82	263,583,870	7,49	503,736,693	14,31
United States	282,613,150	9,26	324,644,421	10,64	607,257,571	19,90
Canada	49,288,245	19,16	31,813,020	12,37	81,101,265	31,53

Countries.	Population.	Area square miles.	Density of Population per square mile.
Mexico	8,283,088	766,482	10.8
Cuba	1,449,462	47,278	30.7
Other West India Islands	2,497,154	49,015	50.9
Central America	2,195,450	154,580	14.2
South America	20,737,874	6,636,639	3.1
Total Spanish America	35,163,028	7,653,994	4.5
United States	30,500,000	2,990,000	10.2
Canada	2,571,437	357,822	7.2

From the preceding tables, we learn that the countries on this continent, known as Spanish America, have an area of 7,557,701 square miles, with a population of 31,216,412, whose total foreign commerce amounts to $358,382,794. Include the West India Islands, and we have a total area of 7,653,994 square miles, a population of 35,163,028, and a foreign commerce of $503,736,693. These are the vast regions with their tens of millions of people and their hundreds of millions of trade, whose destinies, as we view the subject, the *Revue* is endeavoring to influence in a manner calculated to bring still greater misery and more wide-spread ruin than even now exists among those nations whose most dire evils are, in reality, legacies from that very Latin race which is now extolled as the only element of good in their midst.

We hold that public opinion on Mexico is wrong, and that foreign governments are following out an unjust, mistaken policy toward that country. We deem it of the highest importance that the American people should lose no time in becoming fully acquainted with the merits of this great question. It should be raised at once from the obscurity into which our politicians have cast it, and assigned that prominent place in our national politics which its overshadowing importance demands. It is true that the policy applicable to Mexico may not be entirely applicable to the other Spanish American countries. Each one of these countries has its peculiarities, and each may require some variation in the mode of treatment. But if public opinion is wrong as regards Mexico, public opinion, in the main, is wrong as regards the whole of Spanish America; and if the United States, claiming to be a free and enlightened republic, and as such, assuming to control the destinies of this continent, stands in a false unjust position toward Mexico, she stands in a false, unjust position toward the whole of Spanish America.

Those broad and fruitful countries, though groaning and languishing under despotic, ill-regulated governments, contain, even now, a population of 35,163,028, and sustain a foreign commerce of $503,736,693. What may not those countries become with tranquillity, and under the civilizing influences of commerce and industry, introduced by a powerful, free, and enlightened *republic?* It requires no extravagant imagination to see those vast regions now so sparsely inhabited, filled up with hundreds of millions of people, and to count a commerce and trade of thousands of millions of dollars!

Such a field for enterprise as Spanish America now offers to the United States has never been seen since the world began. It is in Mexico that its occupation must commence, and first of all, the fate of Mexico must be settled. Even now, her destinies are trembling in the balance. We have reliable advices that Señor PACHECO, the new Spanish minister to Mexico, is beginning to show his hand under the stipulations of the Almonte treaty, made by Spain with the Miramon government. The last Spaniard that ever lives, will die believing the Mexican people were created to be his slaves. It is not difficult to divine, therefore, what Señor PACHECO's course will be. It is also published, on authority from LOUIS NAPOLEON direct, that he is about to interfere in Mexican affairs. So long as there was any hope for the church party, and whilst treaty negotiations were pending between the United States and Mexico, the European Powers, in their efforts to thwart the United States and sustain the church party, confined themselves to the exertions of their accredited ministers in Mexico. But now that the American Congress has refused to have any thing to do with that country, and the final triumph of the liberals, even without the aid of the United States and against all opposition, appears absolutely certain, a direct and unequivocal armed intervention by France and Spain, and perhaps England, is announced.

What does this foreign intervention mean, just as victory appears to be within the grasp of the liberals? It means that Spain, whether acting in conjunction with any other power or not, is as fully determined as ever to have a despotic tenure in Mexico of some sort, if she cannot hold the entire country in her hands; and it means that France is influenced by the money power in Mexico which has hitherto sustained the church party, and which is broken, utterly ruined, and lost, the day on which the liberals obtain possession of the city of Mexico. M. GABRIAC, formerly French minister in Mexico, is now in Paris. He is supposed to represent not less than $50,000,000 arising out of transactions with the Zuloaga and Miramon governments on the part of himself, JECKER, TORRE, and others. These bankers and capitalists, and their immediate connections in Mexico, have all failed, and their assets are mostly the church faction securities, which no legitimate government of the country can have the least shadow of authority for paying. Intervention on the part of France and Spain (and perhaps England) at the present moment means, therefore, nothing more or less than a check to the liberals which will force them to make a compromise with bigotry and despotism that contemplates the fulfilment of stipulations, disastrous to Mexico, contained in the Almonte treaty, and the payment of those enormous and iniquitous obligations created by the church party. This foreign intervention means mischief. If the liberals of Mexico listen to any scheme of compromise with their enemies, they are lost; and if we permit either or all of the European powers to interfere in the affairs of Mexico on any pretext whatsoever, we are no better than besotted boasters, and have no right to rank among nations as a Power on Earth.

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PERSONAL.

For some years past, the most prominent feature in our policy with Mexico has been to acquire her territory. If Mr. Buchanan had one clear and distinct idea in his own mind relative to Mexico, when he despatched Mr. McLane thither, it was, doubtless, that of acquiring a portion of her domain. It is now generally conceded that the minister to Mexico had no definite instructions except on this point—a sort of general memorandum having been given to him to go and do the best he could; recognize the government that appeared the most likely to win, despotic or liberal, church or anti-church; and to negotiate a treaty with whatever government he might recognize, that should embrace in its provisions a cession of certain Mexican territory to the United States, for a pecuniary consideration. My own convictions, based on personal experience, had fortified me against such an *unprincipled* policy as this—a policy that has proved fatal to all those interests which the two countries hold in common.

It appears that when Mr. McLane was despatched to Mexico, the administration at Washington had less comprehension of that country than it had of almost any remote portion of Asia that could be named. It would seem that our highest officials had neither the time nor the knowledge requisite to draw out a schedule of instructions, embodying a decided, practical, statesmanlike policy for the new minister to follow in Mexico. It is reasonable to believe, therefore, that when the news of Mr. McLane's prompt and unqualified recognition of the constitutional government, and the liberal party of Mexico, reached Washington, none were more astonished than Mr. Buchanan and his cabinet.

This momentous official act was no sooner accomplished under the circumstances heretofore stated, than the high negotiating parties commenced framing a treaty such as the common interests of both countries seemed to require. The negotiations were conducted with that circumspection usual on such occasions, and nothing relative to these, while pending, was known outside the official circle. There was one point in the matter, however, as well understood in the streets of Vera Cruz as in the cabinet of President BUCHANAN, or that of President JUAREZ. This point was, that the acquisition policy of the American president would make itself apparent first and foremost; and I believe it is a fact now well understood, that Mr. McLANE, acting under instructions, was obliged to present a demand for the cession of a portion of Mexican territory to the United States, for a pecuniary consideration, at the very outset of his efforts to frame a treaty with the constitutional government!

The feeling of the Mexican people, relative to the sale of any portion of their country, is not understood in the United States. It is a mistake to suppose that any section of the republic favors such a transaction, or is indifferent on the subject. The contrary is the fact. No people have a stronger love of country, or more extravagant notions, I may say, of what is due to its honor and dignity, than the Mexicans. No *party* in the country will listen to a proposition for the purchase of territory. It is only certain thoroughly venal and unpatriotic individuals who, when they attain power and see the way clear to pocket the proceeds, will sell the national domain. Fast "manifest destiny" men, and crazy speculators, have done much to mislead our government and people on this point. The Mexican war was conceived in erroneous notions relative to the sentiments and the capacities of the Mexican people, especially those of the northern states. It is a well-known fact that President POLK and his cabinet supposed the mere presence of General TAYLOR with his troops on the Rio Grande would be sufficient to prevent hostilities. It is now a matter of history, how this movement of General TAYLOR's provoked the very issue it was intended to overawe. Even after hostilities had commenced, President POLK was led to believe that the northern tier of Mexican states were desirous of separating from the federation, and joining the American Union; and it would only be necessary for a few regiments of American soldiers to appear among them and countenance the project, when the people *en masse* would throw up their hats, and huzza for annexation and the American confederacy. On this erroneous belief, DONIPHAN, with his regiment, was ordered to march through New Mexico into Chihuahua. General KEARNEY was sent to California to co-operate with Commodores STOCKTON and SLOAT, while General TAYLOR appeared in Tamaulipas and Coajuila. That magnificent extent of country did not, however, like ripe fruit, fall to the United States, a bloodless and cheap acquisition, in conformity with the expectation and desire of the administration at Washington. The Mexicans, from one end of the country to the other, were united as one man against the invaders, and step by step the war went on, until, to save our national honor, we were obliged to conquer a peace by capturing the capital of the republic, and vanquishing the nation.

Up to this time, nothing had occurred to bring out the opinion of southern statesmen on the practicability of propagating negro slavery in Mexican territory beyond the Rio Grande and the Rocky Mountains. There appears to have been a vague idea that it could not be done. WEBSTER and CALHOUN, doubtless, had clearer and more correct views on the subject than any statesmen then living. But whatever may have been the opinions of leading southern statesmen who influenced the administration of President POLK, the glory of a splendid acquisition of Mexican territory, certainly, on the inception of the plan, obscured their vision as to its results on their favorite institution of slavery. But when those parties found themselves in possession of the whole of Mexico, then, and not till then, did the question of the possibility of propagating negro slavery in that country enter the councils of southern statesmen as a matter that must be immediately acted upon. Southern instinct as usual when the interest of the peculiar institution is concerned, was prompt and correct in its decision, on this occasion. The leading men of the south agreed that negro slavery could not be carried into Mexican territory, and the country was returned to the original owners, except New Mexico and California, which were retained for a consideration, notwithstanding the misgivings of the entire south, and the open opposition of a few of her leading men.

Thus we see the Mexican war originated in a series of blunders which resulted in an unexpected, unwished-for conquest; which conquest was finally abandoned, because the controlling party knew that it could not be made available for the extension of human slavery, and the minority party honestly believed, or affected to believe, directly to the contrary. Now, the "irrepressible conflict" apostles—who have gained immensely in political power since that period, and whose final success depends entirely on the unhealthy excitement created by their gospel of uneasiness—are keeping alive and using the theory that the institution of slavery can and will be carried into Mexico!

Our Mexican policy, based on a thorough ignorance of Mexico and the Mexicans, continues up to the present day. It has been fatal to our relations with that country, and it always will be fatal, in diplomacy, to approach any Mexican government holding power by the will of the people, with a proposition to purchase national territory. Besides the profound conviction of this fact, there are other weighty reasons which sustain my opposition to our Mexican policy of territorial acquisition.

My experience in Arizona had convinced me that in the acquisition of that domain known as the "*Gadsden Purchase*," we but added to the territory of New Mexico a wild region of country, (and without the port of Guaymas) very difficult to get into, and much more difficult to get out of—a dreary district which, in fact, has proved to us nothing more or less than a trap, in which bands of wild and murdering Indians catch emigrants and settlers, with their horses, cattle, and other property. This forlorn purchase of territory also gave the United States government the opportunity to increase its patronage, by extending its worse than useless Army and Indian Agency system, and adding several millions to the amount squandered yearly by the War Department, under pretence of protecting the frontiers. The acquisition of the states of Sonora, Chihuahua, and part of Coajuila, would bring all that remains of the wild Indian country south of us, within the limits of the United States, and this new acquisition would equal, in area, New Mexico and Arizona. The former territory has been in the possession of the United States twelve years, and the latter, six years. These two territories have been under the protection of the War Department, and practically, under the management of the United States military and Indian agents stationed therein. When we look back and contemplate the horrid butcheries that have taken place, the great loss of human life, the immense waste of property, and the enormous expenditure of national funds within those territories, we hang our heads with commiseration and shame. And when we reflect that those regions are, if any thing, in a worse condition this day than they were when the United States took possession, we may well call in question the propriety of acquiring other territories of the same character, to be given up to a system of management which proves an absolute hindrance to every thing like civilization and progress.

The expenditures of the War Department are now nearly $30,000,000 per annum—almost half the entire revenue of this government—and at the present rate of increase, the amount will reach $60,000,000 in 1865! And yet, in view of these startling facts, our legislating politicians are rushing blindly, madly on to increase this branch of federal patronage, and all this is done under the plea of retrenchment and economy.

It will be remembered that President BUCHANAN, in his annual message, 1858, recommended the forcible and military occupation of the Mexican States of Sonora and Chihuahua. The chairman of the House Committee of Foreign Affairs addressed the Secretary of War on the subject. The following is his reply. We give it as one of the brightest scintillations of genius that has flashed from the War Department since it came into existence.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, *Dec.* 27, 1858.

SIR:—In reply to your communication of the 14th inst., I have the honor to state that in my judgment the armed possession of posts in Chihuahua and Sonora, according to the policy recommended by the President, would add nothing to the *present necessity* for an increase of the army.

"The line of defence from the frontier of Texas to the Pacific coast would be materially shortened, and might be so chosen as most essentially to diminish the cost of transportation for the supplies of a very large portion of our forces employed upon our southern border. Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"John B. Floyd, Sec. of War.

"The Hon. John C. Faulkner, Chairman
"Committee on Military Affairs,
"House of Representatives."

The War Department at Washington is the last place a sensible business man of frontier experience would go for information, upon which to base any project, either military or civil. Truth, replying from the frontier to the inquiry of the House Committee on Military Affairs, would have stated something like the following:

"The states of Chihuahua and Sonora nearly complete the area of country south of us, in which the wild Indians claim and exercise the right to ravage. The United States, through its military posts and Indian agencies, has not been able to check these savages in that portion of this extensive domain already acquired. 'Armed possession' of New Mexico has rested as a blight upon the land for twelve years; and 'armed possession' of Arizona for six years, has rendered that territory a by-word among the hybrids south of us, and a stench in the nostrils of our own people. A line of military posts from San Antonio, Texas, to Guaymas, Sonora, so thickly placed that the tap of the drum could be heard from one to the other, would not control the savages. And, moreover, the people of Sonora and Chihuahua shudder at the idea of American garrisons being placed in their midst to create rows, riots, and assassinations without number, and arouse more bad blood and fierce passions than could be allayed in half a century. The additional expense to the War Department, consequent upon an armed occupation of Sonora and Chihuahua, under our present system, and with the addition of disaffected Mexicans, would be not less than $10,000,000 per annum."

It may appear that the foregoing is a digression from the main subject, but it is not so. Our southern frontier interests are inextricably interwoven with the Mexican question in more ways than one. The same views I now express on this point, were set forth by me in a series of letters on Sonora and Arizona, that appeared in the *New York Times*, the latter part of 1858.

The most important consideration in my own mind, however, against the policy of territorial acquisition at the present time, has been, the excited condition of the public mind on the question of slavery, and the fact that new territory only adds fuel to the flame. It is true, I have expressed my unqualified belief that the United States, north or south, separate or together, cannot carry negro slavery into Mexico; yet I am well aware that the Mexican states on our southern border, either in or out of the American Union, *can*, in the present unhappy condition of our political affairs, be used by the South as an element, or the means of incalculable mischief to the North, and to the Union. The cry of "disunion" means something, or it means nothing. It is foolish for any one to give it out simply as a prophecy, that this Union will, or will not be destroyed. This Union may be as firm as the hills, indissoluble; or we may see it in fragments within a twelvemonth. It cannot be denied that at this time, there is a lurking dread, an undefinable feeling of uncertainty gaining strength in men's minds, respecting the future of our country. No one believes that a separation of these United States can take place in a peaceful, regular manner. If parted at all, they must be rent asunder. How do matters stand now? The North hates the South most cordially, and the South reciprocates this feeling most heartily. This hatred amounts to fanaticism on both sides—that of the North being by far the most dangerous, as it is the most extensive and powerful, and has a religious tinge. This hatred between the parties is based on the most deadly and the worst passions of which our nature is capable, and thus the two sections of the country stand arrayed against each other—the powerful North on the aggressive—the South defiant, yet alarmed, awaiting the onslaught. *This is all unnatural.* It is the work of politicians who have intensified the struggle and made the issue. There is an apathy among the masses now, but the political leaders are astride their political hobbies, and, under full hue and cry, are dashing on with whip and spur. Suppose the republican riders in the North continue astride the "irrepressible conflict"—absolutely the most fanatical and unprincipled political hobby of the day—and drive on furiously and successfully to the election of a republican president. It is highly probable that Mr. LINCOLN now desires to say to all men what he no doubt honestly feels at this moment; "Just let me get into the presidency and see how conservative I will be." If Mr. LINCOLN is raised to the presidency, can he *command* conservatism? It is by the power of fanaticism of the worst species only, that he can be elevated. Through him, power based on fanaticism reaches its culmen, and once in power, has this element ever been known to turn back and be consumed in its own fires? The "irrepressible conflict" gospel means irrepressible hatred, and if this element once obtains control of the government of this country, it is, on sound principles of logic and analogy, reasonable to believe that it will not cease to rage, until it has desolated those regions toward which its fury has been so long directed.

In this view of a republican success, it cannot be otherwise than that the South—her pride wounded beyond endurance, her independence gone, and her people panic-stricken—will lose all calmness and reason, and give free rein to wild and overt acts. In that section of our country, self-preservation will be the first motive for action, and the cry of "disunion" will mean patriotism. What are now the vaporings of a BICKLY, K. G. C., may become a reality. The filibuster element once roused and directed, the South can invade Mexico, conquer and hold a part or the whole of that republic. What could the United States government do in such an emergency? It has not the power to move one step or lift a finger to avert this stupendous work of national ruin. As matters now stand between the political parties in the United States, and in the absence of all treaty-stipulations with Mexico, by which the respective Executives of both nations are empowered to maintain the territory of each inviolate, *the south, if so disposed, can render the election of a republican president a nullity, or completely break up a republican administration.*

These were my views on this subject, when I found myself in Mexico, in 1859, and heard prominent parties in the cities of Mexico and Vera Cruz discussing the stipulations of a treaty between the United States and Mexico.

The constitutional government and the liberal party of Mexico having been recognized by the United States government, the way was opened for the inauguration of a new policy between the two countries. The constitutional government was in a condition and desirous to offer to the United States advantages that no government in Mexico had ever been able to offer before. It appeared as though the time had arrived for the negotiation of a treaty which should guarantee to the Mexican nation, as well as to foreign residents, *civil and religious liberty*; break down and remove those ancient obstacles and hindrances to trade and commerce, and secure the sovereignty of the Mexican nation and the integrity of her territory as they now stand, under a constitution and laws which conform, as near as possible, to our own. Some may say that this, virtually, amounts to a protectorate. Perhaps it does. If so, it is a *moral* protectorate, more powerful and enduring than an *armed* protectorate.

Since the days of Aaron Burr, the idea of filibustering Mexico has taken the shape of a suggestive devil in the brain of every one who has dreamed of projects to destroy the Union. For this reason, as well as others of moment, it would seem of paramount importance that the present boundary line between the two republics should be so fixed that filibusterism, or all the powers of disunion, slavery, and fanaticism, could never break over, remove, or destroy it.

I have already mentioned that the sentiment of the Mexican people is strongly opposed to slavery. In accordance with this sentiment, slavery was formally abolished by the Mexican congress in 1829, and in accordance with this sentiment, the second article of the present constitution of Mexico runs thus:

> "Article 11. All are born free in the republic. Slaves that set foot upon national territory recover by that single act their liberty, and have the right to the protection of the laws."

What a pity it is that our own constitution could not have contained precisely such an article as this!

The constitution that contains the above article, is the constitution of the government in Mexico recognized by the United States, and any treaty between the two governments that guarantees each, the one to the other, the inviolability of the present boundary line between them, and the sovereignty of the weaker power, sets at rest forever the question of the extension of slavery on our southern border. A treaty between the United States and Mexico which contained this most important stipulation, would, there is every reason to believe, have a decided effect in causing European powers to look with favor upon the extension of American influence and American institutions throughout Mexico, if any thing of this kind is possible. But it is quite doubtful whether those nations who have large pecuniary claims on Mexico, especially England, would look with much complacency upon the sale of Mexican territory to the United States, or such a loose condition of affairs on the boundaries as would permit any partial or general dismemberment of the Mexican confederacy, under the auspices of the slave power.

A pure commercial treaty between the United States and Mexico, one that should be clear and unequivocal in its guarantees as to the sovereignty and integrity of the Mexican republic, and which opened the latter country to foreign emigration and the enjoyment of a reasonable degree of freedom in trade and commerce, is, then, under all the circumstances, what the legitimate interests of all parties and all nations, certainly those who advocate the *free soil* doctrine, appear to require at this time.

A treaty of this character between the United States and Mexico would completely hem in the South, by opening up a slavery-hating country on her southern border, to a slavery-hating, enterprising, progressive emigration from free soil countries on both continents. Then the South would awake to the danger and the enormity of the evil she is cherishing. Then the South within herself would, first, from prudential motives, and then on the score of economy, begin to inquire, "How shall we get rid of slavery?" A practical and peaceful settlement of the great and dangerous question will only come when the southern states, state by state, or together, take the initiatory in eradicating the festering sore from the body politic. Any attempt on the part of the North to coerce the South in this matter, would surely result in the destruction of our confederacy. But by a wise recognition and skilful management of moral agencies, on the same principle that science submits to the laws that regulate the material elements, in order to control those elements, the southern people may be brought to yield gracefully and peacefully to the inexorable and irresistible laws of progress, simply because the *forces* bearing upon them are above and beyond their control, or their right to call in question.

A treaty with Mexico, of the character set forth in the foregoing, as I construe it, was laid before the Senate of the United States, during its last session. I believe this treaty was calculated to open a splendid field of enterprise for our northern commercial and industrial interests, now so pent up by adverse political influences; to end our dangerous sectional differences, and sweep from view forever our low order of politicians, who, like *fungi*, have risen from the dark and sickly depths of negro politics. Is it strange, therefore, that these politicians killed the Mexican treaty?

THE MITLA LETTERS.

The proprietors of the *New York Times* have kindly permitted me to publish the letters I addressed to that journal during my sojourn in Mexico, in 1859. Such of these letters, therefore, as relate to events then transpiring, my personal observations, travels, etc., will appear in the Mexican Papers, as a part of my "Personal Reminiscences."

"ANAJUAC MYTHOLOGY—TRADITION RESPECTING THE GOD QUATZALCOATL.

"VERA CRUZ, *April* 5, 1859.

"On the 20th April, 1519, three hundred and forty years ago, less fifteen days, Cortez, with his fleet, arrived off the island or shoal named by Grijalva, San Juan de Uloa. The Spanish adventurer anchored in the roadstead, between the island and the main land, and the next day, landed his forces on the low, flat sand beach, where the city of Vera Cruz now stands.

"Immediately, hordes of wondering, simple-minded natives, came over the dingy sand hills, a short distance in the rear of the encampment, to see the mysterious strangers, brought by 'water houses with white wings' from unknown regions beyond the sea. With what fearful interest these swarthy sons of nature must have regarded the sudden appearance of those beings from over the world of waters, who came more as gods than as men! Swift-footed messengers speedily bore the news to Montezuma. This proud monarch of the Aztec Empire, seated on his throne in the mountains, and in the plenitude of his power, received the news with fear and trembling. The popular tradition respecting a prominent deity in Anahuac mythology, called Quatzalcoatl, forced itself upon his mind. The tradition was that this deity, the god of air, represented, unlike their other Indian deities, as benevolent, having a white skin and flowing beard, had, in ages past, been expelled by the more ferocious gods, and embarked on the Atlantic sea, in a wizard skiff, for the fabled land of Tlopallan, promising to return at some future day with his posterity, resume possession of the Empire, and fulfil his mission of benevolence.

"The hieroglyphic, or 'picture-writing' account of the strangers taken to Montezuma, represented them as having fair skins and flowing beards; riding furious monsters with four legs, and holding the thunder and lightning of heaven in their hands. The Aztec monarch wavered, trembled, consulted his wise men, and then, in the pride of his heart, but weakness of his soul, sent to the Spanish commander rich presents, consisting of loads of cotton cloths, beautifully embroidered with silver and gold; feather work of the richest colors and most delicate designs; pearls and precious stones, gold dust, and gold and silver plates on which highly ingenious devices were cunningly engraved. With these presents came a polite message from the giver, requesting his visitors to accept them as tokens of his friendship, and return to the country from whence they came.

"Montezuma, by thus exposing his wealth and his weakness, invited his fate. Had he forwarded to Cortez a few hundred pounds of *maize* and *frijoles*, some *Chili colorado* and a sack of *pulque*, it is not probable that the tremendous energies, unfailing resources, and heroic daring which soon subdued the Aztec empire, would then and there have been created in the soul of the *Conquistador*. After examining all Montezuma's presents, and hearing his messages, Cortez remarked, '*the Spaniards are troubled with a disease of the heart, for which gold is a specific remedy*,' intimating, at the same time, that they had come a long way to obtain the remedy, and could not return without it. This remark of Cortez, though facetiously made, contained one of the most solemn truths ever uttered. This 'disease of the heart' fired the Spaniards' courage, roused their energies, kindled their fanaticism, drew them to conquest, through conquest to oppression, through oppression to weakness and vice; and now that particular disease of the Spanish heart is finding its cure in dust and ashes.

"The benevolent deity Quatzalcoatl had presided over the destinies of the Toltecs four centuries, when the greater portion of this people disappeared as mysteriously as they came, making way for the fiercer Aztecs. The rude and warlike nature of this latter race was softened somewhat by coming in contact with the remaining Toltecs, who had lived under a mild religion and an advanced state of civilization. The Aztecs increased rapidly in numbers and power, banished the benevolent deity Quatzalcoatl, and, as time rolled on, delivered themselves up more and more to the influence of their war gods. Then the Spaniards appeared, conquered, and planted the Cross on the pagan altars of the natives. But the Spaniards did not prove to be the descendants of the benevolent deity that had been banished so many centuries. It is true, the pagan altars were cast down, and what is called the Christian Cross was reared upon their ruins. In the name of this emblem of a higher order of religion, through a period of three centuries, millions were sacrificed on the unholy altars of the Spaniards' lust, and the Mexican nation lost immensely by the change. At last, their descendants, the modern race, weary of their abject state, rose and cast off the hated foreign yoke. But the Mexican nation fought the shadow, not the substance. That old, corrupt, bigoted, and despotic church remained, and its rule became more ferocious and tyrannical than ever.

"Three hundred and forty years have elapsed since the commencement of these great events in Mexican history, so fraught with strange and melancholy interest.

"There is a fine field for the play of the imagination, in taking up the Anajuac tradition of the god Quatzalcoatl and following it to the end. At this moment, we find the shifting nature of human events has placed at the head of Mexican affairs, one of the original race, who, twelve centuries ago, acknowledged that deity as supreme; one of the few who have maintained their purity of race. Even as I write, this representative of the mysterious people that have been so fearfully scourged, is treating for recognition and support from the emissary of the white and bearded northern race, who acknowledge the supremacy of a benevolent deity, and who say their mission is peace. Are the bloody Mexican deities about to be expelled? Is Quatzalcoatl coming to resume possession of his empire—to restore peace and prosperity?

"MITLA."

THE RECOGNITION.

"VERA CRUZ, *Wednesday April* 6, 1859.

"THE deed is done. Mr. McLane, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary from the United States, has recognized Benito Juarez and his government as the government *de jure* and *de facto* of Mexico.

"The ceremony of recognition and presenting credentials was characterized by an *impromptu* demonstration unusual on such occasions. This ceremony took place at 1 o'clock to-day. A body of the regular army escorted President Juarez, with his principal civil officers, to the Municipal Palace, situated on the Plaza. The American Minister, attended by his secretary, H. Le Roy Reintree, Esq., and C. Le Doux Elgee, *attaché*, with a suite composed of R. B. J. Twyman, U. S. Consul; Capt. Jarvis, of the Savannah; Capt. Farragut, of the Brooklyn; Col. Johnson, U. S. Army; Edward E. Dunbar, New York; Jasper Whiting, of Sonora; and Messrs. La Sere and Perry, of New Orleans, proceeded from the minister's quarters to one of the long and beautiful rooms of the palace, where the Mexican President and his officials were in waiting. The American minister made a brief address to the President, who also briefly and happily replied.

"Amid the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, and joyous shouts of the populace, the ceremony was concluded.

"That the people and government of the United States will accord to their minister wisdom, decision, and firmness in this most important act, and that he will be fully sustained by his countrymen and government, there can scarcely be a doubt. The important consequences to both republics that must follow this friendly union on the common ground of constitutional freedom, cannot, at the present time, be estimated. The most cordial relations are now established between the United States and the masses of Mexico. Liberal commercial treaties will be made, friendly and profitable intercourse between the two republics will be opened, and private and national filibustering must then cease.

"Mitla."

MEXICAN CORRESPONDENCE—ITS CHARACTER AND EFFECT.

Much of the indifference, and we may say aversion, felt in this community toward Mexican affairs generally, are, doubtless, owing to the peculiar character of the correspondence from Mexico, that appears in the public journals. Nearly all the Mexican correspondence with this country is concentrated in the journals of New York and New Orleans. All the prominent journals in New York, we believe, have endeavored to obtain regular and reliable correspondence in Mexico, but the *Times* and *Herald* are the only ones that have met with any degree of success. From personal knowledge, we can testify to the high appreciation in which the former journal holds this matter, and to its earnest and energetic efforts to obtain the most thorough and reliable information respecting events transpiring, and the real condition of affairs in the neighboring republic.

The journals of New Orleans have better facilities for obtaining Mexican correspondence, from the propinquity of that city to the Mexican country. But at best, it is difficult to obtain a good Mexican correspondence at this time, from the fact that good resident correspondents are very scarce, and no journal feels inclined to dispatch a special correspondent to Mexico and maintain him there, simply to write up the Mexican news.

Our journals are, then, to a certain extent, dependent on chance and transient correspondents of the *volunteer* order, who, too frequently, are political, filibustering, speculating adventurers. Such as these are always but too happy to inundate prominent journals with their correspondence, because they believe that through this means, they will be able to influence public opinion one way or the other, according as their interests may dictate.

Since the commencement of the present Mexican revolution, now nearly three years, there has been from that country a systematic correspondence, denouncing all parties in Mexico, and advocating the immediate seizure of the entire country by the United States, and the establishment of order by means of a standing American army. This correspondence is doubtless honest, but most people in this country know the plan to be impracticable and absurd.

Then we have the filibusters. They rove along the Mexican frontier, and between New Orleans and Vera Cruz. Their correspondence has been quite prominent. These gentlemen sometimes favor one party and sometimes another; but, more frequently, they deride both parties, and evidently see no peace and prosperity in the future for poor distracted Mexico, until a few thousand Americans, with revolvers, rifles, and bowie-knives, are admitted into the country. A happy time, generally, might then be expected.

Parties interested in some enormous and outrageous speculation, occasionally appear in print, and it would not be very natural to look for much disinterested or consistent correspondence from this source.

The partizans of General COMONFORT are also at work, and not unfrequently it is carefully whispered to the press, that an "under current" is silently and surely working in favor of the return of the ex-President.

These kind of agencies, and others of minor importance, have been at work in the *general* correspondence from Mexico during the past three years; and such a mass of confused and conflicting statements has been thrown upon the public during this period, that the principles involved in the Mexican revolution, the main facts, and the real issue, have been almost entirely lost sight of. Carefully prepared, truthful, and intelligent communications from Mexico, by *reliable* and regular correspondents, have stood no more chance in this community than the most common trash ever penned. But it is to be hoped that the fog which has enveloped the Mexican question is clearing away, and that, as the issue narrows down to a closing point, public journalists, at least, will take up the matter with more satisfaction and better effect.

PUBLIC OPINION ON MEXICO.

In the first number of the Mexican Papers we published an article from the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* as an example of the erroneous public opinion that prevails in regard to Mexico. We now give another example of the same character, taken from the *London Saturday Review* of May 26th, 1860, and entitled

SPANISH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

"The Spanish American republics have now for thirty years been the opprobrium of Liberty, and the friends of free institutions have grieved over them too long not to be glad of any explanation which does away with the necessity of dwelling on their wild pell-mell of revolutions, constitutions, civil wars, and dictatorships. Such an explanation is furnished by an interesting paper in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.* The point of it is that the disturbances of Mexico and of South America proceed nearly exclusively from the Indian element in those countries. Englishmen have been dimly conscious that the so-called Spanish Americans are a mongrel race, but they have probably had very inadequate ideas of the extent to which the Spanish blood has been diluted, and it is certainly a fact known to few, that almost every revolutionary leader is a pure Indian. We are curiously misled by the Spanish-sounding names of these Mexican and South American worthies. Many of us have the impression that Juarez, Vidauri, and Degollado are as actual Spanish gentlemen as Sartorius, Narvaez, and O'Donnell. Yet the truth is, that the three persons named, who are all Mexicans, generals, and constitutionalists, are neither more nor less than full-blooded Indians, and are therefore much nearer relations of the Ojibbeways who were exhibited in London a few seasons ago than of any hidalgo in Spain. It need not be said that this circumstance entirely destroys the importance of the Spanish American revolutions as precedents or illustrations. The King of Siam, according to Sir John Bowring, is a very intelligent sovereign, and the establishment of a Nepaulese republic at Katmandoo would be a very singular event, but nobody would dream of basing any political lesson on the intellect of the Siamese monarch, or on the democratic institutions of Nepaul. Consciously or unconsciously, we regard no changes of government as political phenomena having interest for ourselves, except such as occur among races which were reared in the religion and civilization of Western Europe. A revolution or civil war in Spanish America is, at most, curious. The only feeling stronger than curiosity which it should excite, is pity for the minority of Europeans, or semi-Europeans, which remains in most of these countries, and is oppressed or massacred at pleasure by masters who, though they speak Spanish and call themselves Christians, are, in reality, savages set loose.

"The difference between a European and an Indian leader, is well illustrated by the history of the rival Presidents of the Mexican Republic. Juarez, the so-called constitutional President, who was lately besieged in Vera Cruz, is, as has been stated, an Indian of unmixed blood. Miramon, who has been styled the President of the church party, is, on the contrary, a Frenchman by the father's side, and a Spaniard by the mother's—in other words, a European, descended from two of the finest races in Europe. Of the merits of the contest in which these two leaders are engaged, we shall only say that it has been grossly misapprehended in the United States and in England. It turns on the confiscation of church property; and this circumstance has caused some degree of mild favor to be extended here and in America to Juarez, who is the champion of the anti-clerical faction. But it is the most foolish of mistakes to institute a comparison between the pillage of the Roman Catholic church in Mexico, and the curtailment of its excessive endowments in such a country as Sardinia. The Mexican clergy are certainly indolent and ignorant, according to European standards; but with all their defects, they alone prevent the Mexican people from relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life. The Haytien negro, when the destruction of the whites relieved him from the control of his priests, went straight back to his Obi, which he scarcely deigns to overlay with a thin varnish of Christianity; and the Mexican, whether Indian or mongrel, can scarcely even now be kept, by all the vigilance of his spiritual pastor, from throwing himself into sorcery and fetish worship. The cause of the Roman Catholic church in Mexico is, therefore, for once, the cause of civilization; and, if the truth were known, it would probably be found that Juarez, who is panegyrized by the American papers as the liberal and enlightened antagonist of spiritual despotism, is simply the foe of the priests because he prefers some private enchantment of his own to the celebration of the mass. It is not, however, in their views of clerical influence that Miramon and Juarez are most advantageously contrasted. The writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* mentions several incidents in Miramon's career, which are curiously characteristic of the European as distinguished from the Indian. He was originally called to the presidency while engaged in a campaign at a distance from the capital. A *pronunciamento* had been successfully accomplished in the city of Mexico, and the revolutionists thought to strengthen themselves by placing at their head a young and victorious general. Miramon, immediately on his return to Mexico, disavowed the entire revolution and refused to accept the distinction proffered to him. This unheard of disinterestedness naturally caused him to be looked upon as a very different sort of conservative from any hitherto known in that country, and is the foundation of all his political influence. Other actions of his, mentioned in the *Revue*, are his immediate restoration of large sums of money seized by his lieutenants, and his repeated refusals to shed more blood than could be helped. The virtues thus indicated would not be extraordinarily remarkable in Europe, and it is evident that in Mexico they might have proceeded quite as much from calculation as from character; but the thing to be noted is, that these actions of Miramon's are just those which no man of Indian breed is capable of practicing. No politician of the native race ever yet sacrificed the opportunity of elevating himself to station, or gave back money which he could spend, or spared an enemy whom it was safe to kill. Juarez sold his country to the Americans without a pang; but civilized men have done this before him, and the fatal symptom about him is not his treason, but his inability to forego an immediate for an ultimate advantage, or to disappoint for one day his savage instincts of cupidity and revenge.

"In all Central and South America there are only two countries—Brazil and Chili—which are not governed by absolute dictators under the form of a republic. With hardly one exception, these dictators are pure Indians, or mulattoes in whom the Indian and negro are mixed, or men with some Spanish blood in their veins, who, like the early Norman settlers in Ireland, have contracted a taste for savage life, and have abjured the habits of civilization. Of this last class there are some curious samples in South America—such as Urquiza in the Argentine Confederation, Castilla in Peru, and the Monagas family, who, though now displaced, all but succeeded in founding a dynasty in Venezuela. All these dictators have one peculiarity in common. Though they have all commenced their reign by expelling the legislature of their country at the point of the bayonet, they invariably belong to the constitutionalists, or liberal party. This party has its newspapers and its pamphlets, on looking into which the reader sees the maxims of extreme French socialistic democracy enforced in stately Castilian. Is there, then, a leaven of socialism in Spanish America? Not a bit of it. It is all sham and a pretence, like the Christianity, the civilization, and the European tongue. The true contest is between *Unitarianism* and *Federalism*, a dispute which in form involves the question whether the State shall be governed from its capital or shall be split into nearly independent provinces, but which in reality resolves itself into a struggle between the European and the Indian—the man of culture and the savage. All the enlightenment and education of Spanish America is confined to the older cities, the seats of Spanish dominion under the monarchy. If the Unitarians prevail, it is the comparatively civilized capital which governs the wild men of the provinces. If the Federalists have their way, the savage of the open country rules the civilized man of the city. As a fact, the controversy has universally ended in the triumph of the Federalists; and as the Indians and mongrels who are the strength of this faction, have no idea of freedom, and no capacity for rule, their success has always resulted in the boldest or bloodiest among them seizing the reins of government and proclaiming himself dictator. We have said that if these events excite any emotion in us, it should be compassion for the unhappy inhabitants of such places as Lima, Quito, Caraccas, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, or the City of Mexico. Their civilization is but a poor one at best, but they have had their age of heroism and a short era of freedom, and they have sensibility enough to feel the humiliation as well as the other consequences of being governed by men who always conduct themselves like savages, and sometimes like monsters."

It is very fortunate for the *London Saturday Review*, that the Spanish American countries are so indifferently comprehended, and that public opinion on those regions is so generally wrong; otherwise, its enviable reputation might be seriously damaged. We rarely meet with an article on our subject so open to severe exception as the preceding. It is a review of that which we have given from the French *Revue.* In the display of partizan zeal, in support of a heathen despotism, in pointed error, and a disdainful disregard of facts, the Englishman transcends the Frenchman; and yet, there are journals in the United States of respectable standing, that copy the English production, and endorse it as an interesting article upon the ethnological and political forces now at work in Spanish America! Here we have a clear illustration of the manner in which the channels of information relative to Spanish America in general, and to Mexico in particular, have been used by the instruments of evil for evil purposes. We cannot marvel that nearly all the history extant respecting those countries, has educated the public mind to receive as truth such fallacious and incorrect essays as we are quoting from influential journals, published in the great centres of civilization.

We must felicitate the London writer on the possession of extraordinary acumen. He discovers, in the paper from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, a thorough solution of the Spanish

American problem. His mind rises jubilant, and he would fain communicate his joy to the world, proclaiming that the friends of free institutions may no longer grieve over this "wild pell-mell of revolutions, constitutions, civil wars, and dictatorships" of Spanish American countries—because—"*they proceed nearly exclusively from the Indian element in those countries.*" This is really comforting; and how remarkable! A few dashes of the pen in the French *Revue*, has settled the fate of a considerable portion of the earth's surface—an area of 7,653,994 square miles, with a population of 35,163,028, and a trade of $503,736,693.

The article in the English *Review* goes on to denounce what it terms the pure Indian leaders in Mexico. It eulogizes MIRAMON as a descendant of two of the finest races in Europe (French and Spanish), and a general and statesman of high order. The English and American public are told, that in showing any thing like "mild favor" to the liberal cause in Mexico, we "grossly misapprehend" the question. We are assured with the most brazen assurance that no comparison can be instituted between the Roman Catholic church in Mexico and the Roman Catholic church in Sardinia, and that the "Mexican clergy alone prevent the Mexican people from relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life. Therefore," continues the *Review*, "*the cause of the Roman Catholic church in Mexico is for once the cause of civilization.*"

In this last declaration lies the great error of public opinion on Mexico; and until exactly the contrary, which is the *truth*, gains credence in the public mind, Mexico will find no peace at home, or proper appreciation abroad.

In speaking adversely of the *Mexican* church, we do not wish to be considered as entering upon a warfare against the *Roman Catholic* church. We regard the Mexican church as essentially a Pagan church; and if the Roman Catholic church considers the Mexican church a Catholic institution, that merits the support of all good Catholics, then we believe that the sooner the Roman Catholic church disappears from the face of the earth, the better. On the subject of religion, we are particularly tolerant. We are favorably inclined to any *religion* that does not offend good manners. We have seen several established *churches* in several different countries, and regard them all, if not slightly ailing, somewhat behind the steam-engine, the electric telegraph, the clipper-ship, the cotton gin, the sewing-machine, Colt's revolvers, Sharpe's rifles, *et cetera*, in the great race of civilization and progress.

But to return to our subject. In contradiction of the assertion of the *London Saturday Review*, that "for once the cause of the Roman Catholic church in Mexico is the cause of civilization," we will oppose one of the "MITLA" letters, bearing date, City of Mexico, July 1, 1859:

"The 23d of June is the feast day of *Corpus Christi*, the greatest of all days in the city of Mexico. That just passed was celebrated here with the usual ceremonious pomp.

"The calendar of the Mexican church sets down the day as follows:

"'June 23—Thursday.—Duty of vigil and fasting. The solemnity of the most holy body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Saint Zenon and Saint Zenas, his slave. Calenda in the cathedral. For eight days his Divine Majesty will be exhibited in nearly all the churches. In the cathredal and the collegiate churches there will be full indulgence during the eight days. A solemn procession, with the assistance of the Supreme Government, will start from the cathedral in the morning. In La Concepcion these eight days will be celebrated with much solemnity, and there will be sermons during this period. At night this festivity will be celebrated in the holy schools. Solemn vespers and matins in San Juan de la Penitencia.'

"The order of performance on this day is as follows:

"'Nine salutes of twenty-one guns each will be fired by the Palace Artillery, placed in the grand plaza. The first salute will be fired at dawn; the second at the commencement of mass in the Holy Cathedral Church; the third at the elevation of the Host; the fourth on the conclusion of Mass; the fifth when the most Holy Host comes out of the cathedral in the procession; the sixth when His Divine Majesty passes the National Theatre; the seventh when His Divine Majesty enters the Holy Cathedral Church; the eighth at noon; and ninth at the going down of the sun. The chief of battery will have his telegraphs arranged, so as to give the salutes at the right time.

"'At 6 o'clock in the morning there shall be a general beating of drums, and for this purpose, all the bands of music of all the bodies which are to form shall, before that hour, congegrate in the Palace courts, that the general outburst of music may commence when the cornet of the Central Guard of the Palace gives the signal that the hour has arrived; and these bands shall then proceed by the shortest road to the respective quarters.

" 'The music of the artillery of the line shall congregate in the Military Colleges of San Pedro and San Pablo at 7 in the morning, to march with the military scholars, who will come to escort the Most Excellent Señor, the President, to the Cathedral, where the said scholars shall fire three times, in the following order: first, at the commencement of Mass; second, at the elevation of the Host; third, at the conclusion of Mass. The military scholars shall then proceed to the door of the Cathedral on the Empedradillo side, to march behind the Most Excellent Señor, the President, in the procession.

" 'The Mun e.pal body, in all its force, shall be at the Palace of Chapultepec at 6 in the morning, to escort the Most Excellent Señor, the President, thence to the Palace in the city, and after His Excellency has arrived there, the Municipal body shall take the position given it in the street Santo Domingo.

" 'At precisely 8 o'clock the battalion of Grenadiers of the Guard will form at the door of the principal saloon of the Palace, and proceed to the main entrance of the Cathedral.

" 'At 9 o'clock, the battalion of Sappers of the Second Light Permanent Battalion will form, covering the First from the door of the Convent of Santa Clara to the Church of the Professa, and the Second from this point to the door of the Cathedral. At the same hour, the artillery will form in the Empedradillo, with its front on Montepio. The regiment of Mexican Lancers will form at the same hour, on the street of the Escalerillas, resting its right on the corner of the first street, Santo Domingo.

" 'The municipal body will form at the same hour in the first street of Santo Domingo, resting its right on the corner of Tacuba-street. Following this body, the ambulances, with their respective dotation, will take position.

" 'The mounted squadron of the municipal body will, in anticipation of all, take its position on the corner of Tacuba-street, to open the march of the procession.

" 'The national flag shall be raised on all the public buildings from daylight until the going down of the sun.'

"The ringing of bells is so general as not to be included in the wretched programme, of which the above forms about one-half; but it includes most of the arrangements, and enables one to comprehend what a singular exhibition feast-days afford, of cannon firing, music, civil and military parades, and heathenish forms and ceremonies. These exhibitions in this country are of a lower order than can be found on the continent of Europe. An eye-witness of these performances can form an accurate conception of how completely this old pagan church has been interwoven with the entire fabric of Mexican institutions and society, and comprehend why it is that Mexico is called a disgrace to civilization and to free institutions.

"After witnessing the ceremony of mass in the cathedral, I took my station just outside of the main entrance, to note the people as they came out, and the forming of the solemn procession. First appeared a body of the native Indians of the country, bearing tawdry banners with strange devices, candles, and lanterns. These Indians are pure representatives of the original races. Their language is the same as in the days of the Aztecs; their habits and manners of living are worse. They continue to eat tortillas and chili, and drink pulque; and they bear burdens like beasts. Their countenances exhibit but a slight degree of intelligence. Their features are disagreeable, they have no symmetry of form, are scantily dressed, and both men and women are filthy in personal appearance generally. They can neither read nor write—have no knowledge of the computation of time, numbers, or distances, not even the knowledge contained in that huge Aztec calendar of stone that rests against the side of the cathedral. They are idolators in the strictest sense of the word, having lost all comprehension of their ancient theology, which really did contain some good and elevating notions and ideas, which we call Christian; and they are now left without aspirations or ability to understand the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, or, in fact, any thing of the kind, above that which takes the material form of picture, image, tree, bush, rock, beast, or bird. They have lost that general intelligence and knowledge of certain arts and sciences which they possessed at the time of the conquest, and are immeasurably lower in the scale of humanity than at that period. Year by year, they turn out legions of syphilitic and leprous beggars, to swell the millions of witnesses against the Mexican church. This is the native Indian of the present day in the pagan district of Mexico. It is true, he does not sacrifice his fellow man on the altars of his gods, but he has been sacrificed and pressed into the work of butchery and robbery, by which a thousand victims have fallen on the altars of human lusts, to one on those of the Aztec gods. This is the fruit of three centuries of Spanish rule,and nearly half a century of the Mexican church despotism alone.

"Following the body of Indians with banners, etc., at the head of this solemn procession comes a band of music. Next is General de la Vega, the one taken prisoner by May at Cerro Gordo, and now Governor of the District of Mexico, attended by sundry of the civil authorities. The general is by no means a bad looking man. He has become somewhat portly and quite gray. He is neither very popular nor unpopular with either party; lives comfortably as a man can during these times, and takes matters generally very easy. Next in the procession we have what is called the "Supreme Government" of the Republic of Mexico, composed of Miramon and his Cabinet, and attended by a company of military officials, dressed in very rich uniforms. Miramon, who marches between Bonilla and Munez Ledo, appears to be about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, five feet eight inches high, and of slender, genteel figure, which is well set off by his fine uniform. He has beautiful brown hair, wears a moustache and goatee *à la Napoleon*, and his complexion is not dark, but slightly muddy. His eyebrows are finely pencilled, and there is a bad, sinister expression about his eyes and mouth. Miramon may be called a handsome man, but his countenance, head, and entire bearing, give no evidence of commanding intellect or traits of character, such as we look for in a superior general or statesman. Miramon is nothing of the kind. He is bad at heart, and inferior in intellect and education. He owes his present position and fame, simply to the scarcity of any thing above the rank of mediocrity in Mexico in these days, and to the other fact that the clergy seized upon him as a pliant tool. Behind Miramon, his cabinet and suite, we have, according to the programme, quite a respectable looking body of cadets, or military scholars. The military and civic bodies of the City of Mexico, now passing in review before us, are of the same order of heathen as the Indians who headed the procession. The former excel the latter only in dress and capacity for deviltry. We will, therefore, allow them to pass, and come to the pith—the cream of the republic—or the hub, the pivot, the axis, if you please, on which the wisdom of man and the glory and mercy of God, in Mexico, are supposed to revolve. I mean the ecclesiastics, that holy body of men who go about with shaved heads, and wear woollen gowns and huge hats. Those representatives of His Divine Majesty, who, looking over their broad domain, count millions of human beings sacrificed in the name of the cross; herds of diseased, deformed beggars, and a decaying population; languishing hospitals, ruined towns, cities, and roads; no literature, no press worthy the name, no education, no standard of virtue, private or public, no telegraphs, no railroads, no improvements, no commerce, no trade; and while civil war rages and blood flows on every side, they count their millions in gold and silver, and bid the hellish work go on.

"In this procession we have a large number of the ecclesiastics of the City of Mexico before us. These are Friars of the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustin, Carmelite, and Mercederian orders. There are Jesuits, padres, bishops, and last of all, that old head pagan, the Archbishop. The eye can take in at a glance, say, one hundred of these pagan officials. Fowler & Wells' fingers would fairly revel in delight to pass over the shaved pates and expose the frightful propensities of this beastly crew. The portraits of these one hundred Mexican ecclesiastics upon which my eye now rests, hung up in Washington, would be sufficient to solve the Mexican problem in the United States. Worse shaped heads, or more disgusting, repulsive countenances and persons than those exhibited by the priesthood in the pagan districts of Mexico, cannot be found in the most degraded nation on earth. Most of them have thick necks and heavy joles. Some wear an expression nearly idiotic, and the balance have a gross, sensual, beastly look. They are learned in their pagan lore, and cunning in the gratification of their licentious and avaricious propensities. Beyond this their wisdom does not extend. Here you have the priesthood of Mexico, the bane and curse of the country, and yet claiming Jesus Christ as the founder of their religion. If Jesus Christ should now make his appearance on earth, and attempt to enter the pagan district *via* Vera Cruz, preaching and practising his original doctrines, if he got further than Perote, this same priesthood would crucify him before he had been in Puebla twenty-four hours.

"But the procession moves on, and the priests have passed. The Archbishop, an aged, fat man, tottering on the borders of the grave, brings up the rear, carrying the Host, and supported by two bishops. The large plaza and surrounding streets are filled by a motley, miscellaneous crowd, numbering several thousands. The general ringing of bells and firing of cannon have ceased. The solemn tolling of the huge, deep toned cathedral bell is alone heard as the Host appears in view of the multitude. Immediately every head is uncovered, and the vast multitude is seen kneeling. For a moment I was awed by the scene, which was really solemn, and the hinges of my knees were pregnant with the intent of kneeling, in conformity with the custom. Then the enormity of the humbug flashed through my mind, and my knees became staunch and firm again. During this momentary conflict of feeling, the Host passed by, and the crowd around me began to rise. I felt relieved that I had not kneeled with the pagans, and in so doing had attracted no notice. Not many years ago a Christian could not have thus exposed himself on this spot without incurring insult and injury. In 1824, shortly before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, an American shoemaker, living on the plaza, was kneeling over a chair in the door of his shop, during the performance of this same ceremony. An official of some sort happening to pass by, ordered the shoemaker to go down on his knees on the floor. The American replied that he was doing all that was required, whereupon the official drew a sword from under his cloak, and ran the man through the body, killing him instantly. The murderer walked away, and never was arrested. Mr. Wilcox was then United States Consul. He could obtain no permission to bury the body in any proper place about the city, but finally, in connection with Mr. Woodbury, and Mr. Black, now United States Consul in Mexico, he made arrangements for burial at Tacubaya. The procession started from the plaza in three carriages, followed by a yelling mob of leperos. Before they had proceeded far, the carriage containing Messrs. Wilcox and Woodbury broke down, upon which the mob commenced throwing stones at these gentlemen, and they were obliged to flee for their lives. Mr. Black then drove to a *cuartel*, and asked for a guard. There were some good liberals in those days, and the officer to whom Mr. Black applied, happened, fortunately, to be one of them. 'Cursed is the country that tolerates friars,' said the officer, and he immediately detailed a guard of six men and ordered them to fire on the first person that offered to insult or retard the procession. They were thus escorted to Tacubaya in safety, and the shoemaker was buried; but those who performed this melancholy duty were scarcely out of sight before the body was dug up, torn apart, the fragments scattered over the ground, and the clothes carried off.

"The wholesale massacres perpetrated by the church armies, and particularly that recently consummated at Tacubaya, by Miramon and Marquez, when the ecclesiastics appeared and incited a drunken soldiery to unheard of deeds of barbarity, and encouraged all abandoned women to strip naked the mangled corpses of the victims, prove that no real improvement has taken place in their priesthood or their religion since that period. Ought not the liberals to receive the aid of civilized nations, in their efforts to destroy this pagan church and nationalize its property?

"But the most important part of the ceremonies of the day are over. We will go out into the street and take a view of the Archbishop's carriage, called the '*Coche de sa Divina Majestad.*' The coach, with four piebald mules, stands in the street ready to receive his holiness. It is built somewhat after the fashion of the day, massive, and excessively flashy in paint, silver, and gold. The ground of the panels and wheels is mazarine blue. The hubs appear to be tipped off with silver. There is a large golden *glory*, with an eye in the centre, affixed, each, to the rear and the front. The glass is of the thickest and finest plate; the interior is lined with heavy, drab-colored brocade silk, sumptuously stuffed. A large arm-chair, trimmed in the same style, occupies the entire back part as a fixture. In the front there are seats for two. The panels are covered with exquisite little paintings, representing the Archbishop's arms, and other church devices. I looked all over the carriage, in search of a representation of the Saviour riding on an ass, but found nothing of the kind. "MITLA."

This is the Mexican priesthood, "who alone," says the *London Saturday Review*, "prevent the Mexican people from relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life." This, according to the same authority, is the "Roman Catholic church in Mexico, whose cause for once is the cause of civilization." Here we have a faithful portraiture of the Mexican church and clergy in these central districts of the country where, to the present day, the church maintains its power. But there is a wide distinction between these limited church districts of which the cities of Mexico, Puebla, and Queretaro form the centres, and the surrounding states, all of which have thrown off the dominion of the church, taken up arms in the liberal cause, and are now fighting for civil and religious liberty. The masses of the people in the liberal states are more intelligent, better educated, and both mentally and physically, they are far superior to the people of the church districts. The more remote from the church, the better you find the people. The population of Sonora, we consider superior to that of any other state in the confederacy.

Foreign ambassadors reside in the City of Mexico; travellers visit the City of Mexico; and in all time past, writers of every grade have caught up impressions formed in the City of Mexico, and given to the world thoroughly false notions of Mexico and the Mexican people. Foreigners look with disgust upon the mass of degraded humanity that yet clings to the Mexican church in the central districts. These foreigners, for the most part, leave the country denouncing the entire Mexican race as a degraded, worthless portion of the human family; and yet, they uphold the *cause* of all this—the Mexican church—and every device is used in order that the Christian Powers may be induced to sustain this wicked and destructive hierarchy awhile longer. This is the extraordinary feature of the Mexican question. It is a fact that cannot be explained on any principles of right or justice, which are supposed to have some influence in the regulation of the world's affairs, in this enlightened age. The fundamental error is, the belief that the Spaniards ever *christianized* Mexico. We deny that the Spaniards ever did any thing of the kind; and we deny the existence of any thing like decent religion, of whatever name or nature, in the Mexican church, as we find it in the central district of Mexico at the present day.

Among the secular clergy—the poor *curés*—scattered over the country, good and worthy men who do not belie their calling, are sometimes found. But when we come to the regular clergy, in the central part of Mexico, we find little or nothing of the kind. Perhaps no picture of human depravity that could be produced, would appear so revolting as a faithful representation of the private life of this class of Mexican ecclesiastics. The representation, given in all its filthy details, would not be fit for the public eye, and we will not undertake the disgusting task.

These ecclesiastics of Mexico are a thorough combination and condensation of avarice and licentiousness. It was the same at the time of the conquest. If any thing, they were better then than now. The Mexican church had no direct communication with the See of Rome until after the country became independent of Spain. Up to that period, the government of Spain responded to Rome for the church in Mexico, and, under this arrangement, Spain not only derived a revenue from that church which otherwise would have accrued to Rome, but she exercised all her ingenuity in the invention of new modes by which money could be extracted from the Mexican nation, by means of the machinery of the church. Between the mother country and the Mexican church, there was a tacit, if not expressed, compact, that each should play into the other's hands. Church and State had a mutual interest in sustaining each other, while each pursued its own peculiar system of plunder. CORTEZ himself was startled by these facts at the very commencement, and hence, we have indubitable evidence that the evils under which

Mexico is suffering are not of slow growth, but are, in truth, coexistent with the discovery and conquest of the country by the Spaniards; and it is worthy of note, that the great *conquistador* foresaw that his own stupendous exertions and successes might bring forth bitter fruit. Nothing is more significant of this, and the true state of affairs at the time, than his own words.

In one of his letters to CHARLES V., dated Mexico, October 15, 1524, three years subsequent to the conquest, CORTEZ, after representing to his Majesty the evil of allowing bishops, prelates, etc., to have command of much wealth, continues as follows:

> "A still greater evil would result from this state of things. The natives of this country formerly had their priests, who were engaged in conducting the rites and ceremonies of their religion; *and so strict were they in the practice of honesty and chastity, that any deviation therefrom was punished with death.* Now if they saw that the affairs of the church and what related to the service of God were intrusted to canons and other dignitaries, and if they understood that these were the ministers of God whom they beheld indulging in *vicious habits and profaneness*, as is the case in these days in Spain, it would lead them to undervalue our faith, and treat it with derision, and all the preaching in the world would not be able to counteract the mischief arising from this source."

Here we have the extraordinary testimony, and under the hand of CORTEZ himself, "that if the honest and chaste natives of Mexico were allowed to witness the vicious habits and profaneness of the ministers of the Christian God as practiced in those days in Spain, all the preaching in the world would not be able to counteract the mischief arising from this source." What a potent and afflicting commentary on the times! But the warning voice of CORTEZ, the result of inspiration in the conqueror, who had the true interest of the conquered country at heart, fell on perverted ears, and his words on that subject have proved a prophecy fulfilled! For three hundred and forty years the natives of Mexico have witnessed the vicious habits of those who came to them as ministers of the Christian God, and all the preaching in the world cannot redeem the evil of the past, or counteract the mischief arising from this source in the future, so far as the natives are concerned.

This Mexican church has been the bane, the curse of the country, holding the consciences of the people, and the purse-strings of the nation, with a diabolical, sordid spirit, and an unyielding grasp. Throughout the rule of the Viceroys, the clergy were keenly jealous of every movement that looked like an infringement of their power and special privileges, and ever on the alert to crush the first semblance of patriotism and liberality. Occupying this position, it has constituted itself an ecclesiastic corporation, with no accountability to either God or man, holding its power, and ruling from age to age under special privileges, and for the sole purpose of accumulating and holding property. Is this Christianity? Is this the business of a *Christian* church? It is generally supposed that Christianity does not require wealth in its ministers as the basis of their power and influence. According to the law of Christ, a *poor* priest is a saving grace—a *rich* one is a living lie.

Why will not the civilized world receive this simple comprehension of the matter, and give the people of Mexico its sympathy in their efforts to overthrow this moneyed priest-oligarchy, which has so long been tolerated under the name of *Christianity?*

The systematic efforts of the Mexican liberals to rid their country of this intolerable oligarchy, commenced with the fall of ITURBIDE. The patriots of Mexico thenceforth attempted to frame a federal constitution, and it was contemplated to incorporate freedom of religion in the new constitution. But the clergy nipped the effort in the bud, and the new constitution came forth, tolerating only the Mexican church. The war of principles had, however, commenced, and several very decided efforts were made in the early days of the republic to throw off the power of the priesthood. The legislature of the State of Jalisco decreed the confiscation of the whole of the church property in that State, pledging itself to make a suitable provision for the ministers of religion at the public expense. The project was sanctioned by the seventh article of the constitution of the State; but the clergy having refused to take the oath upon such terms, and resisted, by a threat of excommunication, an attempt on the part of the civil authorities to oblige them to submit, the question was referred to the General Congress, which, on December 22, 1824, issued a decree, prohibiting the states from taking any measures calculated to diminish the revenues of the church, without the full concurrence of the ecclesiastical authorities, until the time should arrive at which the General Congress should think it expedient to enact a law for the regulation of the right of patronage throughout the republic.

It is interesting to note, that Mr. Ward, the English minister in 1827, regarded all such movements as the above as dangerous and unjust innovations. Speaking of the decree of Congress, prohibiting the confiscation of the church property in the State of Jalisco, Ward, in his truly valuable and honestly written work, says:

> "This measure, although it has been much criticised, was undoubtedly productive of the very best effects, as it put a stop to encroachments on the part of the states, for which the country was by no means prepared, and yet left the door open for all necessary reforms, whenever there was an attempt to exercise spiritual jurisdiction in such a manner as to affect the rights and privileges of any other class of citizens."

"Productive of the very best effects," says Mr. Ward, emphatically. A recapitulation of the "effects" from that day to the present shows that even Mr. Ward's enlightened understanding made a great mistake; and when we come to investigate the relations that have existed between Mexico and those countries called Christian, we find occasion for a large charity toward the Mexicans. This comparatively poor and ignorant people are not accountable for the crime, misery, and ills of every nature, that have afflicted their country. The guilt lies with the Christian powers of earth, whose high representatives, misled and influenced by a few bankers, government contractors, and fraudulent importers, have either winked at the enormity of Mexican misrule or failed to discover it, and invariably brought down a cold and crushing influence on every rising aspiration for real freedom and independence. This, in reality, is the influence that has predominated and ruled in Mexican affairs since the separation from Spain.

The article we publish, from the *London Saturday Review*, corroborates all this. It is the most thorough and complete exposition of mistaken public opinion in England, relative to Mexico, that we have seen.

There is one more point in this English *Review* article, which we cannot suffer to pass without notice. It is wherein the London journal says: "No politician of the native race ever yet sacrificed the opportunity of elevating himself to station, or gave back money which he could spend, or spared an enemy whom it was safe to kill. Juarez sold his country to the Americans without a pang; but civilized men have done this before him; and the fatal symptom about him is not his treason, *but his absolute inability to forego an immediate for an ultimate advantage, or to disappoint for one day his savage instincts of cupidity and revenge.*"

We recommend the attention of the author of the above statement, whoever he may be, whether English, English-Mexican, or French, to the following Mexican correspondence, on the exchange of prisoners captured by the liberals in recent engagements:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY: His Excellency the Governor of the State of Zacatecas, Commander-in-Chief of the division formed of the forces of that State and the State of Aguascalientes, writes to me, under date of 16th inst., as follows:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have to-day written to Gen. Don Miguel Miramon, as follows: 'Yesterday, was completely defeated by the forces under my command, the division of Don Silverio Ramirez, leaving in my power all his artillery and trains, and more than a thousand prisoners, including over fifty officers, as named in the adjoining list. The battle took place at the Hacienda of Pennelas, the enemy making a heroic resistance during three hours, until the field was covered with the slain, among which were several of his principal chiefs.

"'The Government of the State of Zacatecas took into its charge the prisoners of Loma Alta (a previous battle), and proposed them in exchange for his Excellency Gen. Don Jose Lopez Uraga and the other officers and officials who remained in the power of the enemy in the assault on Guadalajara on the 24th of the last month. This proposal was refused, but the Government of the State of Zacatecas, notwithstanding, immediately gave the order for their liberty without restriction, giving to each his respective passport.

"'The undersigned now, animated by the same sentiments of humanity, and as a proof of respect to the rights of humanity, again proposes to the General-in-Chief of the forces in Mexico operating in the State of Jalisco, the unrestricted exchange of the present prisoners of Penuelas for his Excellency Gen. Uraga and the other officers above referred to, at the same time assuring the said General-in-Chief that whatever may be his reply, the undersigned will place at liberty these brave prisoners, whose exchange he proposes, as he has already done with the chief of the medical corps and his subordinates, notwithstanding the remembrance which he retains of the assassinations of Tacubaya, leaving it to history to characterize the conduct of the chiefs of the respective contending forces.

"'The undersigned hopes that the General-in-Chief of the above-named forces will be pleased to reply to the present note, and to accept the assurance of his consideration.'

"'And I have the honor to transcribe the same to your Excellency, for your superior information, hoping that you will be pleased to extend your approbation to the measure which I have taken with respect to the prisoners of war which are now in my power, because the same is in conformity with the programme which has been adopted by the Liberal Party, and which is its most honorable distinction; with the sentiments of humanity of your Excellency; with the principles of the rights of humanity; and, above all, because there is involved the good name of the Liberal Party both at home and abroad.'

"I have the honor of transmitting the same to your Excellency for the knowledge of his Excellency the President, and stating to your Excellency that I have given my approbation to the step taken by Gen. Ortega, because I wish to persuade myself that some time, our proceedings will find an echo in the hearts of our misguided brothers.

"I renew to your Excellency, with this opportunity, the assurances of my attentive consideration. God and Liberty.

"SANTOS DEGOLLADO.

"To his Excellency the Minister of War and Marine,
"Vera Cruz.

"*Headquarters*, *San Luis Potosi*, June 20, 1860."

REPLY OF THE MINISTER OF WAR.

"His Excellency the President has been informed of the official communication of your Excellency, dated on the 20th of last month, in which is inserted the communication of the Governor of Zacatecas, relative to the exchange of prisoners which has been proposed to Gen. Miramon, and which has received the approbation of your Excellency.

"This generous proceeding of his worthy Excellency, Gov. Ortega, as was to be expected, has fully received, as it merited, the approbation of his Excellency the First Magistrate of the Republic, who has directed that the same be manifested to you in due reply.

"The undersigned believes that by this act, the release of Gen. Uraga, and the other prisoners of Guadalajara, will finally be secured; but should such not be the result, for no reason will there be cause to regret having given liberty to the prisoners taken at Penuelos, not only because it is in conformity with the principles of the Constitutional Government, and of all those who defend legality, to show themselves magnanimous with the vanquished, but because already the enemies of the Constitution are in great part beginning to comprehend the evil their course is inflicting upon the country; and because, also, the true Republican, the lover of his kind, and actuated by generous instincts, is guided by rules of conduct diametrically opposed to those which govern the faction which seeks to re-establish the tyranny of irresponsible power over the people, and to carry them back to the *regime* of past centuries.

"Before concluding this communication, the undersigned feels it to be his duty, as it his pleasure, to congratulate your Excellency and the Governor of Zacatecas upon an act which will pass into history, doing justice to the defenders of the cause of legality in Mexico.

"The undersigned protests to your Excellency with this opportunity his distinguished esteem and consideration. God and liberty.

"AMPUDIA.

"*Vera Cruz*, July 1, 1860.

"To his Excellency Don SANTOS DEGOLLADO, the General-in-Chief
"of the Federal Army, San Luis Potosi."

"ZACATECAS, June 9, 1860.

"The resolution contained in the communication which, with the present writing, I despatch to head-quarters, was already taken when I received yours of the 6th instant, in which I am instructed to set Don Romulo Diaz de la Vega at liberty. I immediately went to see that gentleman and the other prisoners, showed them the refusal of Gen. Miramon in regard to the proposed exchange, and the superior orders which I had just received from your Excellency. I assured them that they were at perfect liberty, and placed five hundred dollars at the disposition of Mr. Diaz de la Vega, who requested me to distribute it among his companions.

"I have the honor to mention this in reply to your Excellency, repeating to you the protestations of my distinguished esteem and consideration. God, liberty, and reform.

"JESUS G. ORTEGA.

"To his Excellency the General-in-Chief of the Federal Army at San Luis Potosi."

Here we have a correspondence, showing that ORTEGA, general and chief of an army of Mexicans, whom the Mexican priesthood "alone prevent from relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life," writes to General MIRAMON, "descended from two of the first races in Europe," the most faithful servant and the brightest ornament of the Roman Catholic church in

Mexico, whose "cause, for once, is the cause of civilization," and proposes, on humane principles, an exchange of prisoners taken in battle. This correspondence passes to General SANTOS DEGOLLADO, and from him to President JUAREZ, president of that portion of the Mexican people whom the priesthood "alone prevent from relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life," and one of the "politicians of the native race, who never yet sacrificed an opportunity of elevating himself to station, or gave back money which he could spend, or spared an enemy whom it was safe to kill."

The humane proposals for an exchange of prisoners, made by General ORTEGA, are approved by his superiors. But MIRAMON *refuses to exchange*, whereupon, General ORTEGA *sets his prisoners at liberty*, *gives them money*, *and sends them on their way rejoicing!* If this is "relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life," we prefer to *relapse*, rather than be held to sustain the church in Mexico, as the cause of civilization.

The sentiments and the acts disclosed in this Mexican correspondence, evince that noble consciousness of power, which the assurance of right can only give. We fear that some of the finest races in Europe do not always entertain the same nobility of conscience. (JUAREZ is not a general. He is a lawyer of thorough education and high rank. It is true, he is an Indian—the first, we believe, that ever headed a revolution or held power in Mexico.) General DEGOLLADO has not a drop of Indian blood in his veins. He has a fair skin, light hair, and blue eyes. General ORTEGA is also of the white race. But no matter what may be the particular blood or race of the acting parties, the foregoing correspondence would form a bright page in the history of any country; and it is, of itself, a complete refutation of the extraordinary and reckless assertions we have noticed in the *London Saturday Review.* If any are "grossly deceived" in this matter, we think they are those who denounce the liberals and the cause of liberty in Mexico, not those who regard them with a "mild degree of favor."

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PERSONAL.

The Mexican Treaty which was finally laid before the Senate of the United States for ratification, has become sufficiently famous to render such of its history as can be given, interesting.

The circumstances under which this treaty was negotiated, and the developments it provoked in the United States before it was finally cast aside in the Senate, form a curious, remarkable, and interesting chapter in our political history.

The principal points in this political chapter to which I wish to direct the particular attention of my readers, are as follows:

First. The incompetency of the present administration to achieve success in our relations with Mexico.

Second. The circumstances under which a desirable treaty with Mexico was finally negotiated.

Third. The *destructive nature of our national politics*, by which a treaty of such vital importance as that negotiated with Mexico, was rejected in the United States Senate.

The views I entertain respecting the incompetency of the administration, in this matter, were acquired in the most legitimate manner. In the Spring of 1858, I came from Arizona to Washington, the authorized bearer of a memorial to Congress from the inhabitants residing in that wild Indian country, and near the Mexican frontier. I had never visited Washington but once before, and that visit occurred in my younger days, when a glorious galaxy of intellects shone resplendent in our national councils. I was, during this visit, in the gallery of the House, when the venerable John Quincy Adams was stricken down by the hand of death, and borne from his seat. Passing along the rear portico of the Capitol shortly after he was removed from the hall, I had a view of the "old man eloquent," not yet dead, but lying near the window on a sofa, placid and calm, in all the solemn and impressive eloquence of death. During this visit, I saw Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Crittenden, Benton and other statesmen of the times, most of whom have gone to regions from whence they can look down upon the littleness of worldly politics. The impressions made upon my mind on this occasion, were never effaced. I formed a most exalted opinion of the statesmen and government of my country, and it was in this exalted frame of mind, that after many years of active life in those distant regions covered by the tip end of the western wing of the American Eagle, that I came again up to our National Capitol, a little proud—yes, I confess to a little pride—in being the bearer of a memorial from suffering American citizens, residing in a new and uncivilized patch of American territory. I had not been long in Washington, however, before my pride received an awful shock. I found myself in fact, no where, or in other words, entirely out of place. The administration was too much occupied in heading off Mr. Douglas, to give frontier interest any sort of attention. Congress was wrangling over Kansas, and myself and the Arizona memorial, so far as we attracted any attention, were absolutely held in derision. I was, in one sense, a phenomenon. That I should appear in Washington, the representative of the honest and legitimate interests of a people, residing in a distant and unorganized portion of United States territory, with no political influence, and go to head quarters in the expectation of rousing attention and obtaining any relief, was attributed to the hopeless verdancy of a frontiersman. When it was ascertained that I had no axe to grind personally, the wonder with which I was regarded increased, and the lobby, especially, poked considerable fun at me.

Hopelessly dull of comprehension and unsophisticated I must have been, not to have fully realized, during my sojourn of several weeks in Washington, on this occasion, how hopelessly indifferent and ignorant were the powers I found in possession of the National Capital, on those momentous frontier, Pacific, and Mexican interests, with which, from personal experience, I had been familiar for many years. I do not wish to be understood as making sweeping or denunciatory remarks to the effect, that in my intercourse with public men in Washington, or elsewhere, relative to the subject on which the MEXICAN PAPERS treat, I have met with *none* who manifest any interest or knowledge in these matters. I have met with some among our leading public men who are alive to the subject, and who have to some extent exerted themselves to give those great interests to which reference has been made, that prominence in the politics of the country which their importance demands. Mr. DOUGLAS is one of these: Senator TOOMBS is another. Both these gentlemen entertain enlarged and enlightened views relative to Mexico and our frontier interests generally; and, whenever the opportunity offers, they evince the disposition to do their country justice in these matters. The Hon. THOMAS CORWIN, of Ohio, is another of our leading public men who is alive to the importance of the Mexican question, and I believe he deplores most sincerely the action of his party, in the Senate, in defeating the Mexican treaty. The Hon. S. S. Cox, of Ohio, has, for several years, devoted much attention to Mexican affairs, and the relation this country bears thereto. His elaborate and very able speech on this subject, delivered in the House of Representatives, March 19, 1860, is evidence of this. The Hon. JOHN COCHRANE, of New York, has recently waked up to the importance of the subject. Gov. BANKS, of Massachusetts, is also earnestly studying Mexico and the interest we hold in the Spanish-American countries generally. I believe that the resignation of the Governor, and his retirement to Illinois, are as much due to a feeling of disgust for the politics and politicians of his party, as to any other cause.

On renewing my acquaintance with Washington after an interval of twelve years, I could not but note, however, the changes that had taken place in men and things in that locality during this period. Whatever of intellect, statesmanship, and patriotism there may have been in the National Capital in these latter days, those qualities do not appear to have existed in sufficient quantity and power to cope with the immense majority, who have been laying their plans for the presidential campaign, and quarrelling over abstractions on the slavery question —a question settled in favor of free labor years ago. The prevailing parties have had no time, and not the smallest amount of brains to spare, for any *living* interest in the country, of whatsoever name or nature, either foreign or domestic. What has all this brought us to? A universal Indian war, mingled with murder, want, and discord throughout that entire stretch of country from Washington Territory to Tamaulipas; a near prospect of fearful domestic troubles in the older states, and absolute disgrace before the world in our foreign policy, even in relation to this continent.

I foresaw this state of things when in Washington, in the spring of 1858, as clearly as I see their existence now; and I then became satisfied that our frontier regions were at the mercy of hordes of wild Indians and gangs of white outcasts on the one hand, and an inefficient, incompetent administration on the other hand; and between the two evils, the chances were ninety-nine out of a hundred that a *bona fide* pioneer in those regions would, sooner or later, sacrifice his labor and his life. I concluded, therefore, not to return to the frontier at present, but continue my business connection with that region, and watch from this point the progress of events on the frontier, the Pacific coast and Mexico, all of which interests are, to a certain extent, identical. It is under these circumstances, and from personal experience with the administration and those around it, that I became acquainted with its views, purposes, capacities—or rather incapacities—relative to these great interests; and when I met Mr. McLane, *en route* for Mexico, I knew perfectly well that he could not have received any very clear and definite instructions in Washington, relative to his action in that country, except to acquire territory. But I soon ascertained that Mr. McLane was an honest, capable man—a high order of man, in fact—whose abilities would be faithfully exerted for the common interests of his country, without regard to partizan or sectional feeling; and I felt a strong assurance that great good would result from his mission.

In the appointment of Mr. McLane as Minister to Mexico, the administration deserves credit, and here, perhaps, the charge of incompetency in one respect ought to cease; for, after appointing a competent minister, the administration has (from what motives I will not stop to inquire,) followed the counsels of its appointee, and exerted itself to the utmost to perfect his highly advantageous negotiations. But, unfortunately, another point of incompetency, and a fatal one, here comes up. It is in the fact that the administration has sunk so low in public estimation, that if by chance a wise and honest measure of general and vital importance happens to be brought forward under its auspices, an opposition, equally, if not more, ignorant and incompetent, can, by an artful perversion of the justly prevailing conviction in the public mind that the administration does not count wisdom and honesty among its prominent qualifications, denounce and defeat any such measure. The administration is thoroughly incompetent for good, therefore, because it lacks the most important of all power—*moral power;* and here we have a complete exemplification of what a stupendous evil it is for the vital interests of our great country to get into the hands of a low order of thoroughly selfish politicians—two distinct political organizations or oligarchies in fact—*whose sole purpose is to acquire power and spoils at the expense of the masses.* How curious and instructive the analyzing of these matters proves!

The facts relating to the negotiation of the Mexican treaty have nearly all been published. The first treaty, framed in Vera Cruz, guaranteed entire freedom of religion throughout Mexico, and conceded certain rights of way, with the privilege of erecting and maintaining warehouses at the termini of the several transit routes; the right of transporting troops, &c.; free entry and transit of goods belonging to American citizens in Arizona, through the ports on the Gulf of California, and across Sonora.

Annexed to these stipulations were guarantees of safety and protection on the part of the Mexican Government, and in case of the inability of that government to protect them, the United States should be at liberty to employ her own armed troops in that office.

In consideration of concessions on the part of Mexico, the United States were to pay her $4,000,000, of which $2,000,000 were to be reserved as indemnity for American citizens holding claims against Mexico.

In addition to these stipulations, there was an informal agreement which comprehended an arrangement for the protection of the frontiers, a postal treaty and a commercial treaty, which latter contemplated a moderate tariff on American productions.

This is the outline of the treaty that vibrated between Vera Cruz and Washington for months, on Mr. BUCHANAN's pertinacious demand for a slice of Mexican territory, with which demand the Juarez cabinet would not comply. It is understood that at first, Mr. BUCHANAN demanded of the Mexican Government Lower California, Sonora, Chihuahua, and a part of Coahuila; but on the earnest representations of Mr. McLANE that the Mexicans would not sell their states and territories, Mr. BUCHANAN reduced his demand, and modestly made the transfer of the territory of Lower California a *sine qua non* in the treaty negotiations. On being further informed, in the most decided manner, that the Mexicans would not sell a foot of their territory, Mr. McLANE received instructions on the 16th of August, 1859, to relinquish all demands of that nature, and conclude the treaty without the purchase of land.

But during this period of vibration between Vera Cruz and Washington, Señor FUENTE had taken the place of Señor OCAMPO in the cabinet of JUAREZ, as Minister of Foreign Relations; and when Mr. McLANE went to conclude negotiations, untrammeled by a demand for territory, he found new counsels prevailing in the Mexican cabinet, and he returned home the latter part of August, without anything in the shape of a treaty.

I left Vera Cruz the 12th of June, went up to the City of Mexico, completed my business at that point, and returned to the United States the middle of August. During my sojourn of two months in the City of Mexico, I had most excellent opportunities to examine into the condition of this important central district, the position of the Church party government, its purposes, etc., and of forming an opinion as to the propriety of Mr. McLANE's course in acknowledging the constitutional government at Vera Cruz, and endeavoring to negotiate a treaty with that government. If I had any doubts of the propriety of the course of our minister, when I left Vera Cruz, they were all settled in his favor by that last visit to the City of Mexico. I have thus expressed myself to him, personally, and his acts command my support through every public and private channel to which I have access.

Mr. McLane was again despatched to Mexico by the administration. He left New York in the United States Propeller *Brooklyn*, the 10th of November, 1859, and arrived at Vera Cruz the 21st of the same month. Señor Ocampo then resumed his place in the Juarez Cabinet as Minister of Foreign Relations, and negotiations were immediately renewed. The treaty previously framed, with the addition of the eighth or commercial article, and a more distinctly defined agreement relative to the protection of the frontiers by the Executives of both countries, was signed by the negotiating parties on the 14th day of December, 1859. This treaty arrived in Washington the latter part of the same month. It was finally negotiated by the parties in Vera Cruz, at a critical period, and for the best interests of both countries. Instead of receiving any aid from the administration at Washington, in his negotiations, our minister was retarded for months by a pertinacious demand for territory, and throughout the entire period of his mission, Mr. McLane has been obliged to enlighten and instruct his own government, and maintain his position solely by his personal tact, efforts, and abilities.

The foregoing is a statement of my principal reasons for believing that the administration is incompetent to achieve success in our relations with Mexico, and of the circumstances under which the treaty was negotiated with that country.

I insert the treaty in this part of the Mexican Papers, as it comes in order, and those of my readers, who give it sufficient attention, can judge for themselves as to its merits.

THE McLANE-OCAMPO TREATY.

A TREATY OF PEACE AND COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC, NEGOTIATED AT VERA CRUZ, DEC. 14, ~~1860~~. 1859

ARTICLE I.

As an amplification of the eighth article of the treaty of the 30th of December, 1853, the Mexican Republic cedes to the United States and its citizens and property, in perpetuity, the right of way, by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, from one ocean to the other, by any kind of road now existing, or that may hereafter exist, both Republics and their citizens enjoying it.

ARTICLE II.

Both Republics agree to protect all routes now existing, or that shall hereafter exist, over the said Isthmus, and to guarantee the neutrality of the same.

ARTICLE III.

Simultaneous with the first *bona fide* use of any route across the said Isthmus for purposes of actual transit, the Republic of Mexico shall establish two ports of deposit—the one on the east, the other on the west of the Isthmus. No duty shall be levied by the Government of Mexico upon foreign effects and merchandise which may pass *bona fide* by the said Isthmus, and which may not be intended for the consumption of the Mexican Republic. No incumbrance or tolls shall be imposed upon foreign persons and property which may pass by this road beyond those that may be imposed upon the persons and property of Mexicans. The Republic of Mexico will continue to allow the free and untrammeled transit of the mails of the United States, provided they pass in closed mail bags, and they be not for distribution on the road. Upon such mails none of the charges imposed, nor of those which may hereafter be imposed, shall be applied in any case.

ARTICLE IV.

The Mexican Republic agrees that it will establish for each of the two ports of deposit—the one on the east, the other on the west of the Isthmus—regulations that will permit the effects and merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of the United States or of any foreign country to be entered and stored in warehouses, which shall be erected for that purpose, free of all tonnage or other duties whatever, except the necessary charges for cartage and storage, which said effects and merchandise may be subsequently withdrawn for transit across the said Isthmus, and for shipment from either of the said ports of deposit to any foreign port, free of all tonnage or other duties whatever; and they may likewise be withdrawn from the said warehouse for sale and consumption, within the territory of the Mexican Republic, on the payments of such duties or imposts as the said Mexican Government may be pleased to enact.

ARTICLE V.

The Republic of Mexico agrees that should it become necessary at any time to employ military forces for the security and protection of persons and property passing over any of the routes aforesaid, it will employ the requisite force for that purpose; but upon failure to do this, from any cause whatever, the Government of the United States may, with the consent, or at the request of the Government of Mexico, or of the Minister thereof at Washington, or of the competent legally appointed local authorities, civil or military, employ such force for this and for no other purpose; and when, in the opinion of the Government of Mexico, the necessity ceases, such force shall be immediately withdrawn.

In the exceptional case, however, of unforeseen or imminent danger to the lives or property of citizens of the United States, the forces of said Republic are authorized to act for their protection without such consent having been previously obtained; and such forces shall be withdrawn when the necessity for this employment ceases.

ARTICLE VI.

The Mexican Republic grants to the United States the simple transit of its troops, military stores and munitions of war by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and by the transit or route of communication referred to in this Convention from the city of Guaymas, on the Gulf of California, to the Rancho de Nogales, or some suitable point on the boundary line between the Republic of Mexico and the United States near the one hundred and eleventh degree west longitude from Greenwich, immediate notice thereof being given to the local authorities of the Republic of Mexico. And the two Republics agree, likewise, that it shall be an express stipulation with the companies or enterprises to whom hereafter the carriage or transportation is granted, by any railroads or other means of communication, on the aforesaid transits, that the price for conveying the troops, military stores, and munitions of war of the two Republics shall be, at most, one-half the ordinary fare paid by the passengers or merchandise which may pass over the said transits; it being understood that if the grantees of privileges already granted, or which hereafter may be granted, upon railroads or other means of conveyance over said transits, refuse to receive for one-half the price of conveyance the troops, arms, military stores, and munitions of the United States, the latter government will not impart to them the protection spoken of in articles second and fifth, nor any other protection.

ARTICLE VII.

The Mexican Republic hereby cedes to the United States in perpetuity, and to their citizens and property, the right of way or transit across the territory of the Republic of Mexico, from the cities of Camargo and Matamoras, or any suitable point on the Rio Grande, in the State of Tamaulipas, *via* Monterey, to the port of Mazatlan, at the entrance of the Gulf of California, in the State of Sinaloa, and from the Rancho de Nogales, or any suitable point on the boundary line between the Republic of Mexico and the United States, near the one hundred and eleventh degree west longitude from Greenwich, *via* Magdalena and Hermocillo, to the City of Guaymas, on the Gulf of California, in the State of Sonora, over any railroad or route of communication, natural or artificial, which may now or hereafter exist, or be constructed, to be used and enjoyed in the same manner and upon equal terms by both Republics, and their respective citizens, the Mexican Republic, reserving always for itself the right of sovereignty which it now has upon all the transits spoken of in the present Treaty. All the stipulations and regulations of every kind applicable to the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, that are or have been agreed upon between the two Republics, are hereby extended and applied to the foregoing transits or rights of way, excepting the right of passing troops, military stores, and munitions of war, from the Rio Grande to the Gulf of California.

ARTICLE VIII.

The two Republics likewise agree that, from the list of merchandise here annexed, the Congress of the United States shall select those which, being the natural, industrial, or manufactured product of either of the two Republics, may be admitted for sale and consumption in either of the two countries, under conditions of a perfect reciprocity, whether they be considered free of duty, or at a rate of duty to be fixed by the Congress of the United States; it being the intention of the Mexican Republic to admit the articles in question at the lowest rate of duty, and even free, if the Congress of the United States consents thereto. Their introduction from one to the other Republic shall be made at the points which the governments of both Republics may fix upon, at the limits or boundaries thereof ceded and granted for the transits, and in perpetuity, by this Convention, either across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec or from the Gulf of California, to the interior frontier between Mexico and the United States. If any similar privileges should be granted by Mexico to other nations at the termini of the aforesaid transits upon the Gulfs of Mexico and California, and upon the Pacific Ocean, it shall be in consideration of the same conditions and stipulations of reciprocity which are imposed upon the United States by the terms of this Convention.

LIST OF MERCHANDISE ANNEXED TO ARTICLE VIII.

Animals of all kinds.
Plows and loose iron bars.
Rice.
Poultry and fresh eggs.
Quicksilver.
Stone coal.
Fresh, salted, and smoked meats.
Wood and iron houses.
Raw hides.
Horns.
Chile or red pepper.
Drawings and models of large machinery, buildings, monuments, and boats.
Boats of all sizes and classes, for the navigation of the rivers on the frontier.
Brooms, and material for their manufacture.
Bridle bits.
Fresh, dried, and sugared fruits.
Type, spaces, plates for printing

or engraving, rules, vignettes, and printing ink.

Printed books of all classes bound in paper (pamphlet bound).

Hops.

Timber, unwrought, and firewood.

Butter and cheese.

Geographical and nautical maps and topographical plans.

Marble, wrought and unwrought.

Machines, and implements for agriculture, farming, mining, for the development of the arts and sciences, and their fixtures, either loose or for their repair.

Dyewood.

Fish, tar, turpentine, and ashes.

Plants, trees, and shrubbery.

Slates for roofing purposes.

Common salt.

Riding-saddles.

Palm-leaf hats.

Plaster of Paris (gypsum).

Vegetables.

Undressed sheepskins.

Grain of all kinds, and from which bread is made.

Flour.

Wool.

Lard.

Tallow.

Leather, and manufactures of leather.

Every species of textile or woven fabric of cotton, excepting that called brown sheeting (*mantātrigueña.*)

ARTICLE IX.

As an amplification of the fourteenth and fifteenth Articles of the Treaty of the fifth of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, in which that which relates to the exercise of their religion by the citizens of Mexico was stipulated, the citizens of the United States will be permitted to exercise freely in Mexico their religion, either in public or in private, within their houses, or in the churches and places which may be assigned to worship, as a consequence of the perfect equality and reciprocity which the second Article of the same Treaty states was taken for its basis. The chapels or places for public worship may be purchased, and shall be held as the property of those who may purchase them, as any other common property is purchased or held, excepting therefrom, however, the religious communities and corporations to whom the present laws of Mexico have prohibited entirely and forever and a day the obtaining and holding any thing whatever in propriety. In no case shall citizens of the United States residing in Mexico be subject to have forced loans levied upon them.

ARTICLE X.

In consideration of the foregoing stipulations, and in compensation for the revenue surrendered by Mexico on the goods and merchandise transported free of duty through the territory of that republic, the government of the United States agrees to pay to the government of Mexico the sum of $4,000,000, of which two millions shall be paid immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, and the remaining two millions shall be retained by the government of the United States for the payment of the claims of citizens of the United States against the government of the Republic of Mexico, for injuries already inflicted, and which may be proven to be just, according to the law and usage of nations and the principles of equity; and the same shall be paid *pro rata*, as far as the said sum of two millions will permit, in pursuance of a law to be enacted by the Congress of the United States for the adjudication thereof, and the remainder of this sum shall be returned to Mexico by the United States, in case there be any such remainder after the payment of the claims thus found to be just.

ARTICLE XI.

This Treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and by the President of Mexico, in virtue of his extraordinary and actual executive functions, and the respective ratifications shall be exchanged at the city of Washington, within the exact period of six months from the date of its signature, or sooner if possible, or at the seat of the Constitutional Government, if any alterations or amendments be proposed by the President and Senate of the United States, and accepted by the President of the Republic of Mexico.

CONVENTIONAL ARTICLES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO TO ENFORCE TREATY STIPULATIONS, MAINTAIN ORDER, ETC.

WHEREAS, In consequence of the existing civil war in Mexico, and particularly in view of the disturbed condition of the inland frontier of Mexico and the United States, occasions may arise when the forces of the two Republics may find it necessary to act in concert and co-operation to enforce treaty stipulations, and to maintain order and security in the territory of either Republic: wherefore, the following Convention has been agreed upon:

ARTICLE I.

If any of the stipulations of existing treaties between Mexico and the United States are violated, or the safety and security of the citizens of either Republic are endangered within the territory of the other, and the legitimate and acknowledged government thereof may be unable, from any cause, to enforce such stipulations, or to provide for such safety and security, it shall be obligatory on that government to seek the aid of the other in maintaining their due execution, as well as order and security in the territory of that Republic where such violation and discord occur; and in every such special case the expenses shall be paid by the treasury of the nation within whose territory such intervention may become necessary; and if disorder shall occur on the frontier of the two Republics, the authorities of the two Republics nearest to the place where the disorder exists shall act in concert and co-operation for the arrest and punishment of the criminals who have disturbed the public order and security of either Republic; and for this purpose the parties guilty of these offences may be arrested within either Republic and delivered over to the authorities of that Republic within which the crime may have been committed; the nature and character of such intervention, as well as the expense thereof, and the manner of arresting and subjecting to punishment the said criminals, shall be determined and regulated by an agreement between the executive branches of the two governments.

ARTICLE II.

This Convention shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and by the President of Mexico, in virtue of his extraordinary and actual executive functions, and the respective ratifications shall be exchanged at the city of Washington within the exact period of six months from the date of its signature, or sooner if possible, or at the seat of the Constitutional Government, if any alterations or amendments be proposed by the President and Senate of the United States, and accepted by the President of the Republic of Mexico.

Signed, { Robert M. McLane,
Melcho~~i~~r Ocampo.

The developments provoked in the politics of the United States by the foregoing Treaty, constitute the most remarkable and instructive portion of the political history I have undertaken to write. Up to the time this Treaty appeared in Washington, what little public feeling was manifested on the subject through the press appeared to favor the liberals of Mexico and their cause. After the arrival of the Treaty, the subject was generally mentioned by the public journals, but, owing to the prevailing apathy and ignorance relative to Mexican affairs, the Treaty elicited no particular comment, except among the leading journals in the larger cities of the Union. The prominent Republican journals, such as noticed the Treaty discursively, were the first and most bitter denunciators of the Mexican liberals and the Treaty negotiated with the constitutional government of Mexico. This is the most curious anomaly in the whole matter, and one to which I particularly desire to direct public attention; for in its solution, there is much to be learned relative to the destructive tendencies of one section of our national politics.

The following extracts afford a fair example of the sense, sentiment, and style of a certain class of public journals that opposed the Treaty, and denounced all connected with and interested therein.

From the New York Tribune, Feb. 27, 1860.

"The whole country should understand the question in all its bearings before the government commits itself to the proposed radical change in our relations with that huge, rotten mass of slunk civilization. Whether the consequences in store for us under the proposed new adjustment of our international relations with that country shall be the annexation of its comparatively unpeopled provinces, falling to us in disintegrated masses, as fast as we may be able to spread slavery over them, or whether they shall come in the shape of a ready absorption of its area that is already covered by a priest-ridden, mongrel, ignorant, dwarfed, and semi-savage population, is alike unimportant to us, in a national point of view. Either arrangement would be alike mischievous, and pregnant with evil consequences.

"If we are to take Mexico at all, either the part that has population, or the portion that has not, let us come at the subject distinctly and understandingly. Let us know exactly what we are about. We ought not to pursue covert modes to attain the object. We do not want to do either, by the authority of a questionable treaty exacted from the necessities of one of the peripatetic, robbing factions that alternately rise and disappear annually in Mexico. A treaty, too, that can be made to mean either much or little, just to suit the convenience of the Executive branch of this Government. A treaty by which we can either take or let it alone, according to the demands of the Slavery-spreading and Disunion element of our Federal politics. A treaty which is a first-rate specimen of an 'entangling alliance,' and which is intended to plunge our relations with Mexico into a maze of diplomacy, where they can be manipulated just to serve the ends of this same political joint-stock company. Let us have every thing that concerns a matter of such vital importance open and above-board. It is an exceedingly difficult subject to treat, any way. Let us strip it of all ambiguities and uncertainties. We do not want to get into any Mexican quagmires, or Dismal Swamps. If we are after Sonora, let us say Sonora. If it be other provinces, let us name them. If it be all Mexico, let us say so. Let the people understand exactly what the Government aims at. We protest against doing things by stealth or under false pretences. As things now stand, the Free States must fight for their share of new territorial acquisitions. We demand that they shall know when any thing of this sort is going on, in order that they may, as Mr. Calhoun used to claim for slavery in California, 'have a chance to get in.' If we are going to take Mexico, or any part of it, the people of the North want a chance to get in.

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"How the members of the Senate stand in regard to it is not definitely known. The main body of the Republican senators are against it, perhaps all."

Tribune, March 3, 1860.

"If a new treaty, of straightforward stipulations, giving us unincumbered commercial advantages, and clear grants of land, could be made, we might well hold a complacent attitude in view of its ratification, provided we first had a Homestead bill. The slavery extension party should be met by going ahead rather than by holding back. Let us have the vacant territory south of us, and fill it with colonists, and thus overslaugh slavery therein. Mexico is falling to pieces, and we shall soon have an opportunity to obtain the fragments we need on our own terms.

* * * * * * * *

"If we could run a tier of free states straight across the continent, on the southern line of Texas, we should let in an amazing flood of light on the slavery question by the process. Such a cordon could not be jumped by slavery, and Lower Mexico might fester and putrify at leisure, with comparatively small danger of spreading her contamination upon us. As things now stand, and they would be even worse under this hybrid treaty, we have no security against a peon slavery being established and gradually ligatured on to our southern extremity, to be followed by a weltering process, making our southern limits more vague than the tail of Milton's Satan."

The foregoing extracts may be called vagaries, but there is nothing vague in the meaning of these vagaries. There may be something vague relative to the "*tail* of Milton's Satan," but there certainly is nothing vague as to the *infernal attributes* of Milton's Satan, and, according to my conception of these, the sentiment running through the quoted extracts from the *Tribune*, was suggested by his Satanic majesty. And then we have the old story, or mistaken public opinion, on Mexico over again, though the style may be extreme: "huge, rotten mass of slunk civilization;" "a priest-ridden, mongrel, ignorant, dwarfed, and semi-savage population." "A tier of free states, straight across the continent, on the line of Texas," evidently, according to the plan of the *Tribune*, means *Kansas*, "straight across the continent, on the southern line of Texas," and the *Kansas border warfare*, throughout that line of country, over again.

There are some noteworthy exceptions to the general course pursued by the Republican journals relative to Mexico and the Mexican treaty. Among these, I have noticed the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, the *Cincinnati Gazette*, and the *Chicago Press and Tribune*. The *New York Times*, *Herald* and *Express* have earnestly advocated the Mexican treaty. Also, the *Boston Courier* and *Boston Post;* and I believe the New Orleans journals, generally, have favored the course of Mr. McLane in Mexico. But the treaty was seized upon by the leaders of the Republican party in the north, and their coadjutors the disunionists of the south, and the destructive politics of these parties had accomplished their work on the Mexican treaty before it came up, even, in the Senate of the United States.

The Mexican treaty first came up in executive session of the Senate, Feb. 28, 1860, and, though it was a secret session, I find the following report of its proceedings in the *Tribune* of Feb. 29th:

"After disposing of the morning business, the Senate went into executive session upon the Mexican treaty, and consumed two hours in discussion. Mr. Mason opened, saying he had brought himself with some reluctance to oppose this project, because it seemed at first blush to favor a departure from the settled policy of the government, which he would never consent to sanction. But in view of the state of anarchy which existed in Mexico, he was willing to make the experiment. In regard to the objection urged, that Juarez does not represent the regular government, he supposed he was as much entitled to that recognition as the other faction; and though now exercising authority over a small district of country, he believed, though unable to give any positive assurance to the Senate, that the ratification, with the aid which we would render, would establish the liberal cause in power.

"Mr. Wigfall, in an able and effective speech, denounced the whole scheme as utterly unworthy of countenance or toleration. There was no government in Mexico capable of making a treaty, or of carrying out its stipulations if made. We did not want Mexico or her mongrel population. Juarez and his Indian crew could not govern themselves, and if brought into contact with our people would contaminate them.

"Mr. Pugh objected to some of the commercial provisions as favoring certain interests over others, but was willing to take the treaty if amended in those particulars.

"Mr. Simmons closed the discussion in one of his strong, conclusive, practical arguments, exposing the sophistries of the alleged commercial advantages. New England had no interest, immediate or remote, in this treaty, but exactly the reverse. It is substantially reciprocal free trade with Mexico, which would require us, under the clause inserted in every commercial treaty for the last forty years, of admitting each nation to an equal footing with that of the most favored nation, to claim similar privileges, and would result in destroying our revenue and compelling a resort to direct taxation.

"This point, and others equally forcible, produced much impression.

"Mr. Hammond obtained the floor, and would have proceeded but for the announcement of Mr. Spinks' death.

"The subject is postponed till Thursday, Mr. Seward having the floor for to-morrow. The treaty is dead as Julius Cæsar. The developments of to-day will probably bring several Democratic opponents into life, who yielded to the persuasions of the President, and were prepared to conquer prejudices. Messrs. Hammond, Chesnut, Andrew Johnson and others, may be counted adversely."

According to the foregoing report, we find that the "able and effective speech" of Mr. Wigfall, (after the *Tribune* style, "mongrel population;" Juarez and his Indian crew;" "contaminate," &c.,) with one of Mr. Simmons' strong, conclusive, and practical arguments did, in reality, kill the Mexican treaty, "dead as Julius Cæsar."

Washington Correspondent of the New York Tribune, March 5, 1860.

"The Mexican treaty is not delayed before the Senate on account of any documents or information to be furnished by the State Department, but because the opposition of Mr. Wigfall, and the approval of his sentiments by Mr. Hammomd, rendered the defeat of the ratification inevitable, without some fortunate intervention. At least six Democrats, and perhaps more, declare they will not support the treaty, and Mr. Bright is among the number."

The Mexican treaty again came up in executive session of the Senate, May 31st, and though this was a secret session, the following report of its proceedings, by far the most complete and full I have seen, is found in the *Tribune*, which appears to have been the special organ of the treaty-killing party.

Washington Correspondent of the New York Tribune, June 1, 1860.

THE MEXICAN TREATY.

"When I announced two months ago that the Mexican treaty was dead and could not be resuscitated, it was impudently denied by newsmongers here, who then affected superior knowledge, and who since that time have been constantly promising a ratification without the least knowledge of the state of opinion in the Senate. The result to-day proves their ignorance. The treaty was called up at half-past one in a brief speech by Mr. Mason, urging the necessity of immediate action, in order that the Executive might know what policy to pursue. He was followed in an ingenious and well-considered argument by Mr. Simmons in favor of the treaty, upon what he regarded as commercial considerations.

"Mr. Hamnond took a broad and statesmanlike view of the subject, contending that the ultimate acquisition of Mexico, which the treaty was intended to initiate, would be the forbidden fruit which Mr. Calhoun had described when speaking of Cuba; and while it might tend to the dissolution of the Union, he

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could not see how the South was to be benefited by the addition of that mongrel population. Hence he was opposed to it.

"Mr. Seward was not willing to commit the Government to an important treaty with a faction, which might be immediately deposed by another that would repudiate the action of its predecessor, and be compelled either to surrender what had been acquired, or probably to resort to war for its enforcement.

"After further remarks by Mr. Benjamin and others, Mr. Simmons called for a division of the following amendments: Insert the eighth and tenth articles from treaty in their proper places to suit the following: Article eighth, strike out the word 'agree' in line one, and insert the following:

"Likewise agree that the articles of merchandise herein enumerated, such as are the natural, industrial, or manufactured products of the Republic of Mexico, be admitted for sale and consumption into the United States of America free from duty or customs charges, as such in any form; that is to say, animals of all kinds, agave fiber, dressed or undressed, or made into rope, bags, or hammocks; ashes, boats of all sizes and classes for the navigation of the rivers of the frontier, cocoa shells, cocoa leaves, and cocoa nuts; coffee, cotton, cochineal, drawings and models of large machinery, buildings, monuments and boats; dye-woods of all kinds and extracts therefrom; fresh fruits; fresh, salted and smoked meats; flour, fish; grain of all kinds, and from which bread may be made; geographical and nautical maps, and topographical plans; horns and horn tips; indigo, jalap, lard; mahogany, and other woods useful in the manufacture of furniture; marble, wrought or unwrought; machines and implements for the development of the arts and sciences, and their fixtures, either loose or for their repair; poultry and fresh eggs, plants, trees and shrubbery, plaster of Paris, (gypsum,) palm-leaf hats, pepper, either red or black, quicksilver, rice, raw hides, sarsaparilla, slates for roofing purposes, tar, tallow, timber, unwrought and firewood, tobacco, turpentine, type, spaces, plates for printing or engraving, rules, vignettes and printing ink, undressed sheepskins, vanilla, wool, the value when exported shall not exceed — cents per pound.

"And the two Republics likewise agree, that the articles of merchandise herein enumerated, being such as are the natural, industrial, manufactured product of the United States of America, which shall be admitted for sale and consumption into the Republic of Mexico, free from duty or customs charges, as such in any form, that is to say: Animals of all kinds, ashes, boats of all sizes and classes for the navigation of the rivers of the frontier, brooms and material for their manufacture, butter and cheese, drawings and models of large machinery, buildings, monuments and boats, every species of textile or woven fabric of cotton, excepting that called brown sheeting, 'Mantātrigueña,' fresh fruits, fresh, salted and smoked fish, grain of all kinds and from which bread is made; geographical, nautical maps and topographical plans; lard, leather, and all manufactures of leather; machinery of all kinds, and implements for agricultural, farming, mining, for the development of the arts and sciences, and their fixtures, either loose or for their repair; marble, wrought or unwrought; palm-leaf hats, plants, trees and shrubbery, plows and iron in pigs and bars loose, poultry and fresh eggs, printed books of all classes bound in paper, pamphlets bound, plaster of Paris, gypsum, quicksilver, rice, slates for roofing purposes, stone coal of all sizes, tar and turpentine, tallow, timber, unwrought and firewood, tobacco, type, spaces, plates for printing and engraving, rules, vignettes, and printing ink, wood and iron houses.

"If any similar privilege shall be granted by Mexico at the termini of the aforesaid transits upon the Pacific Ocean, or at any other ports of entry of the Republic of Mexico, such grants or privileges shall be made upon the same or similar conditions of reciprocal benefits with those herein stipulated between the United States and Mexico, and shall not be granted without the payment of a proportionate amount of money in advance, in each case, as an equivalent and compensation for the revenue surrendered by Mexico in relinquishing the specific or other duties imposed upon others, upon the introduction of the articles herein enumerated into that Republic. The amounts to be paid in money by such other nation, shall bear the same proportion to the amount of its trade with Mexico in the articles of merchandize herein enumerated, as the sum of $4,000,000 bears to the amount of the trade from the United States to the Republic of Mexico in the same articles of merchandize, and shall be computed and apportioned in each case upon the amount of the actual trade of such other nation to Mexico, in said articles of merchandise, for the five years next preceding the time of the ratification of the present treaty, and all such commercial privileges shall terminate simultaneously with those herein granted.

"Article X.—Strike out after the word 'stipulations,' line two, and insert the following in lieu thereof: And as an equivalent and compensation for the revenue surrendered by Mexico, upon the merchandize from the United States to be entered for consumption in, or to be transported through the territory of Mexico, free of duty, the sum of $4,000,000, of which $2,000,000 shall be paid to Mexico immediately upon the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, and the remaining $2,000,000 shall be retained by the Government of the United States for the payment of the claims of citizens of the United States against the Government of Mexico for injuries already inflicted, and which may be proved to be just, according to the law and usage of nations, and the principles of equity. And after the claims shall be ascertained, and a list of the names of the claimants is reported to Congress, with the amount due to each respectively, in pursuance of a law to be enacted by the Congress of the United States for the adjudication thereof, the said $2,000,000 shall be appropriated by Congress for the payment of said claim in full, if the sum retained is sufficient, and pro rata if insufficient, to pay the whole, and the remainder of the $2,000,000 shall be paid to Mexico by the United States in case there is any remainder after the payment of the claims thus proved to be just.

"The stipulations contained in the Eighth Article of the present Treaty are to continue for ten years and thereafter, until one or the other of the said Republics shall have given one year's previous notice that they desire to terminate the same. And these and all other stipulations shall take effect when the $2,000,000 agreed to be paid to Mexico shall be paid, and the necessary laws to carry the same into effect shall be passed by the Congress of the United States.

"These amendments were rejected by 20 to 26, Republicans voting with them to oblige Mr. Simmons, and Democrats adversely.

"Mr. Wigfall then moved an amendment providing for the reclamation of fugitives from service or labor, which received a majority, but could not be inserted for want of two thirds.

"Finally, a division was called on the naked treaty, which was defeated, 18 to 27. Messrs. Simmons and Anthony alone of the Republicans voted in the affirmative. Messrs. Hammond, Hunter, Chesnut, Iverson, Johnson, and Wigfall, of the Democrats, went against it. Douglas was not present, though he has been out for several days, and entertained a large party last night. Various Senators were paired off.

"Just as the Senate was about adjourning, Mr. Simmons entered a motion to reconsider, which would have been voted down but for the confusion of the moment. Thus ends this farce."

The only objections advanced against the treaty, that can be found throughout the whole of the *Tribune's* report, are those of Senators HAMMOND and SEWARD. Let the reader refer to the alleged objections made by those distinguished senators, and judge whether TALLYRAND was not partly right when he made the remark that "language was invented to conceal mens' thoughts."

Senator WIGFALL evidently had a masked battery in reserve, when he made the significant motion for an amendment providing for the reclamation of "fugitives from service," etc.

The report of this last secret executive session of the Senate places Senator SIMMONS in a position almost the opposite to that he is reported to have assumed when the Mexican treaty was first called up. Whatever may have been the position of Senator SIMMONS at the outset, there is abundance of evidence to prove that ultimately he labored energetically and honestly to consummate a measure so fraught with vital interest to the country at large. It appears that Senator SIMMONS, with his colleague, Senator ANTHONY, stepped boldly out of the ranks of their party, and, of all the Republican senators, they alone voted for the ratification of the Mexican treaty. All honor, then, to the Rhode Island senators for this exhibition of their wisdom and patriotism!

I am again indebted to the *Tribune* for its report of the last dying throe made by the Mexican treaty, in executive session of the Senate, on the 27th of June, 1860.

Washington Correspondent of the New York Tribune, June 28th, 1860.

"The Mexican treaty was nominally reconsidered, and therefore goes over till next session. It required only a majority, and there was no disposition to contest the point when pressed so earnestly by Mr. Simmons. Messrs. Anthony and Wilson voted with him to galvanize the corpse. Juarez will probably be in exile before the treaty is again considered, if present signs may be trusted."

The treaty was finally postponed, I am credibly informed, on motion of Senator Wilson. How this senator, who had certainly manifested considerable favor towards the Mexican treaty, and an intelligent appreciation of the *imminent* importance of its ratification, should have been the one to finally and virtually kill it, "dead as Julius Cæsar," is more than I can comprehend.

I have now given an outline of the history of the Mexican treaty from the day of its inception to the day of its rejection; and I do not hesitate to assert that the circumstances under which this treaty was negotiated, and its final defeat, will be referred to ten, twenty, fifty years hence, as one of the most remarkable chapters in our political history that can be found on record.

Does any one believe that if the administration had, at an early day, marked out an intelligent, decided, and just policy with Mexico, a policy, the result of *convictions based on knowledge*, and enforced this policy with that moral power which intelligent and honest convictions always command,—does any one believe, I ask, that this treaty, wrought out by an honest and capable servant, could not have been carried even against the destructive opposition of the Republican and fire-eating politicians who united to destroy it?

And does any one believe that the Republican party, in Washington, evinced, in their action on the Mexican treaty, any *honest convictions based on knowledge*, relative to the Mexican question, or any sentiment higher than that of a determination to achieve success in their own thoroughly selfish political purposes, no matter by what means, or at what expense to the country at large? Otherwise, how could they, on such frivolous pretexts, unite with the disunion faction in defeating the Mexican treaty, and thus leave the country exposed to dire evils, among which may be counted filibustering for disunion purposes, and the intervention of European Powers on our own borders?

After such flagrant trifling with stupendous interests, as the *Tribune*, in a self-glorifying spirit, exposes in this matter, I do not wonder that its report closes with the remark, "Thus ends this farce."

The *New York Journal of Commerce*, remarking upon the Mexican Papers, says:

> "Mr. Dunbar deems it legitimate, in discussing questions of Mexican policy, to arraign, and to praise or condemn, pretty much everybody connected with our own government, giving to his "Mexican Papers" a wide scope and range, and tending, we fear, to involve him quite as deeply in American politics as in the affairs of Mexico."

This criticism of the *Journal* is just, and to the point,—nothing could be more so. I am an American citizen, born and bred, and have the right to vote. I am, according to the theory, if not the practice of democratic institutions, one of the people—the masters, who send their servants to Washington, to attend to their interests. I find those national servants in Washington do not attend properly to my interests as a private American citizen, engaged in lawful and legitimate business. Therefore, I very naturally claim the right to "arraign, and to praise and condemn pretty much everybody connected with our government," according as in my opinion, they deserve, and investigate the causes that carry individuals so notoriously unfit for their position, into power. Not being a disappointed or expectant politician, I feel a glorious independence in being able to apply the knife to *both* of the great political parties, whose politics, as I conceive, are of a destructive character to my own lawful and legitimate interests, and who have brought the whole country to the condition and position so correctly stated by Mr. SEWARD in his recent Detroit speech, viz.: universal dissatisfaction at home, and our institutions a hissing and by-word for all creation abroad. I may be wrong in my independent notions, and in my views relative to the nature of our institutions.

I certainly aim to give "a wide scope and range" to the MEXICAN PAPERS. This is the very nature of the subjects of which my publication treats, and in discussing questions of Mexican policy, I confess to becoming "quite as deeply involved in American politics as in Mexican affairs." The discussion of the Mexican question *inevitably* involves the discussion of American politics, and of those vital interests in the United States over which the politics of negro politicians have been so long allowed to maintain their destructive ascendency.

MITLA LETTER.

FROM VERA CRUZ TO JALAPA.

CITY OF MEXICO, *July* 25, 1860.

"Having waited some days in the hope of joining a party sufficiently strong to cope with the robbers on the road to this city, and no such opportunity offering, I concluded to run the gauntlet *solo* and take such chances as might fall to my lot. Therefore, on Sunday morning, June 12th, amid sunshine and showers—smiles and tears—I left the *Hotel de las Diligencies*, City of Vera Cruz, in a Troy coach with eight passengers bound for Jalapa, and just outside the walls, at the railroad depot, the vehicle was placed on a car made for the purpose, six mules attached *tandem*, and in little less than three hours we passed over this piece of iron road to San Juan, a distance of seven leagues. This is the commencement of the railroad between Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico, and here the enterprise is likely to rest for a long time to come.

"The journey from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, the people, climate, scenery, productions, and every peculiarity of the country, have been so often described by travelers, that the like attempt, on my part, would simply be a work of supererogation. I relate my personal experience on the trip, therefore, as the means of elucidating the peculiar state of the country at the present time, reserving the right to touch upon the world-renowned wonders of nature, and give some pretty hard facts a light and fanciful setting.

"Leaving San Juan at 1 P. M., we continued our route through the *tierre caliente*, or hot country, up hill and down, on the Jalapa road, yet maintaining a gradual ascent.

"Staging has been reduced to a science on the high roads in Mexico. The coaches are good, and the teams, either horses or mules, generally four abreast on the lead and two at the wheel, are of the best description. The coachman is usually an *expert*, and if the roads are good they gallop; if bad, a constant lashing and cracking of the whip is maintained, and they get along as fast as they can. We soon began to experience the ills of a bad road. A great part of the distance between Vera Cruz and Jalapa has been paved with large cobble stones, or, as they might be called with more propriety, *boulders*. By reason of these having been torn up in many places, and used to obstruct the passage of troops, by reason of rains, the cutting up by enormously-loaded wagons and from neglect, this road is now in the worst possible condition. By this road, however, or one much like it, *via* Orizaba, you must pass from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. Over these stones we bounced, over steep pitches we plunged, down into deep gullies we swayed and reeled, at the rate of six miles per hour, until it seemed as if every bone would come out of the flesh. But on we went; passed the *Puente National* at dusk, and had a fine view of this great work of art and its magnificent surrounding of scenery. At ten in the evening we reached the small town of *Plan del Rio*, ate a pretty good supper, rested three hours, and then resumed our journey. Early in the morning, long before the sun reached the horizon, we discovered the noble Peak of Orizaba on the left. From our point of view, it presented a perfect pyramidal shape, covered with snow, and its base resting on soft, scroll-like clouds, delicately tinged with golden hues, while the Peak itself received the full rays of the sun, and towering high above and among the clouds, resplendent and glittering in yellow light and the glory of the morning, displayed to the imagination of us poor mortals the portal of heaven. 'Wonderful country!' one ejaculates, mentally, if not audibly.

"We now experienced a fresh and bracing atmosphere, which is not known in the country we left but yesterday, though tropical productions continue abundant. The hills and mountains are on a grander scale, the lands over-rich and covered with foliage of the rarest tints. At 12 M., we reached Jalapa, a beautiful town seated on the hills—distance from Vera Cruz, eighty miles. Being desirous of seeing something of the place, and moreover dreadfully bruised in the flesh, I determined to lie over two days for the next diligence. The journey of all the passengers, except myself and one other, ended here. Among them were two who exhibited a phenomenon worthy of notice. They were mother and daughter, both excessively fat; small, dimpled hands, and arms like legs of mutton, such being frequently met with among the señoras of the Republic. During all this rough jaunt, these creatures neither burst, chafed, or rode uneasy, but there they sat on the back seat like two dumplings in a dish, highly comfortable. When a violent motion of the coach caused the gentlemen to knock their heads together, or crack their sconces against the roof, the ladies would gently roll up their eyes, ejaculate, '*Jesus!*' '*Santissima Maria!*' or something of that nature, in sympathy for the harder bone and muscle of their companions. On arriving at Jalapa, they were as chipper, bright, and lively as though they had come all the way quietly in a Boston rocker. The power of endurance in fat women is truly wonderful.

"The road from Vera Cruz to Jalapa presents many scenes of desolation and ruin, on account of the civil war now raging. Houses burned or thrown down, fields neglected, haciendas and villages almost totally abandoned. Certain districts are, in fact, entirely desolated.

"In Jalapa we found General Robles with 1200 men, church forces, holding the town. Also, the *conducta* of *caudales* or specie, sixty wagons containing nearly six millions of dollars, *en route* for Vera Cruz. The yearnings of Robles and his men over this train, nearly caused every box of specie to fly open.

"The beauty of the country about Jalapa and its climate, have not been exaggerated. There is no winter here; but spring—eternal spring—blends with summer. Peach, apricot and pear grow side by side with the orange, fig and banana. Corn, potatoes, and a great variety of vegetables thrive and abound. The women of Jalapa deservedly rank among the most beautiful and graceful in the republic. The houses that line the streets are mostly of one story, and very neat. Each house has an ample window, secured by iron or wooden bars. Behind these are seen beautiful señoritas, who, like caged birds of paradise, cast longing looks, sometimes soft and sometimes bright, upon the world without.

"The climate is in the highest degree healthy, and I could not but think that many of our citizens who are now hurrying from their hot piles of brick and mortar to mountain and sea, would, some day, search out this remarkable country for recreation and health.

FROM JALAPA TO PEROTE.

"On the evening of the second day of my arrival, General Robles, having dispatches to forward, ordered the diligence to start at 10 o'clock that night, instead of the next morning. The rain was pouring in torrents, and the signs foretold a terrible night to be floundering about in a stage-coach. But Mr. S., an Englishman residing in the country, and myself, the only passengers for Mexico, concluded to go rather than wait for the next stage, two days later. Ten o'clock came and away we went, amid terrific thunder and lightning, the heavens one sheet of water and torrents coursing down the hilly streets, so that the poor, blinded mules could scarcely make their way around corners and out of the town. We at last reached the high road, which proved to be no better than that on the other side of Jalapa; if any thing, worse. We tumbled along, however, after the usual style, upset only once, but luckily being near a ranch, plenty of assistance was at hand to right the coach. Early in the morning we passed the highest mountain summit between Jalapa and Perote. We were in the region of pine, fir and dwarf oak. The storm continued, the blast was cold and piercing, and it needed but a little snow or sleet to make a perfect winter scene. Descending from this, we reached Perote at 11 A. M., thirteen hours from Jalapa—distance, thirty-three miles. Perote is situated on an elevated plain not remarkable for its fertility. The castle of Perote is about one mile north of the town. The civil war rages to such an extent in this region, that the town is partially abandoned. The castle is held by a considerable body of church forces. The aspect of this region is bleak and mournful.

"The Spaniard COBOS, a brutal robber, and one of the worst in the country, but now a general in the army of Holy Mother Church, was here with six hundred of his men. This body had formed part of the specie train escort to Jalapa, and had returned to this point, *en route*, it was supposed, to Oajaca on a robbing excursion.

"We were to resume our journey at 3 o'clock the next morning, and having the afternoon to spare, Mr. S. and myself walked out to the castle, and when a short distance from the entrance, we met a carriage containing two officers. "They are the Governor of the Castle and COBOS," said my companion. COBOS put his head out to look after us, and came to the conclusion that we were dangerous individuals. The carriage shortly after met a horseman, and stopped. The horseman soon dashed past us into the castle, and as we were about making a *detour* of the walls, a guard, duly armed and equipped, came forth and stated that we were wanted in the castle. "Trapped in this miserable hole," thought I to myself. Into the castle we went, and arriving among a crowd of officers and soldiers, one of the former told the guard that they were ordered to send us to the town and not bring us to the castle, whereupon the officer went to headquarters to learn what the orders really were. Matters looked a little squally. 'What is to be the upshot of this affair?' I inquired of S.

"'I am afraid we have lost our seats for Puebla to-morrow morning,' he replied.

"The long line of Mier prisoners who were decimated for death and served out their horrible servitude here, came up before me. Thoughts of the many atrocious imprisonments and barbarities for which Perote Castle is renowned, came into my mind. 'Perhaps,' thought I, 'they read *Mitla* in my face, and desire to give me an opportunity to take notes inside as well as outside.' Many thanks if this kindness was intended. But the aforesaid officer soon returned, and with a polite bow, but sinister expression, informed us we could retire to the town. We therefore tore ourselves away from the gaze of several hundred soldiers of a diluted order, so far as military appearance and action were concerned, and departed. But not until 3 o'clock next morning, when roused by the gruff voice of the driver, informing me that the coach was ready, and I found myself rolling out of the town, did I consider it a clear case of release from the bloodthirsty Spaniard Cobos, or any other robber chief who might be in the place.

FROM PEROTE TO PUEBLA.

"Leaving Perote, we enter the high road to new adventures not of the most agreeable nature. This section of road is much better than that we have passed. The country is generally level, and in some places quite sandy. But we are in the heart of the banditti district. In the *tierre caliente*, between Vera Cruz and Jalapa, robberies are not frequent. Coming from Jalapa to Perote out of the usual time, we encountered no one, but now, in the ordinary course of events, we shall meet with more or less of the fraternity.

"Occasionally a strong party, well armed, bids defiance to the robbers, and passes through without being robbed; but at the present time, as large bands are overrunning the country, and robbing in the name of "*law and order*," those who are obliged to travel prepare to be robbed by leaving their arms, taking little or no baggage, a few silver dollars in the pocket to purchase some degree of civility, and as little else of value about the person as possible. You can deposit a sum of money at the diligence office, and receive a circular therefor which is available at any of the stations on the road. W small carpet-bag, containing a few indispensable articles, eight dollars in cash, and not clad in my "*Sunday best*," I was in a condition to go through the operation of being robbed. As stated, the coach, with Mr. S., myself and a Mexican youth, belonging in Puebla, left the place at three A. M. The posts are from three to four leagues apart, and twelve miles from Perote we drove up to the first post, which is at the hacienda of Claude Simon, one of the most extensive and wealthy *haciendados* of the country. The building extends several hundred feet along the road, and on our arrival, there were ranged against the walls some one hundred and fifty peons, chanting the *maitines*. The darkness of night was still upon the earth. A faint streak in the east, beneath heavy, black clouds, alone indicated the dawn of day; and there this dark mass of humanity stood grouped together, performing the first heathenish ceremony of the day—heathenish to them, for all they do is in obedience to force and the superstition of uncounted, unknown ages. All the harmony of their chant was in those sad, wailing, plaintive tones that come from a lost and doomed people, in whose souls the light of reason faints and flickers in its last struggle for existence. The morning chant of these poor, abject beings, but little above the brute, was one of the most melancholy treats I ever had the pleasure of experiencing. But now they have gone to their labor in the field, to return with the darkness of night. The obtaining of the most labor out of human beings as well as brutes, at the least possible cost, has, under the study of ages, been reduced to a science in this part of Mexico, held by the Church.

ENCOUNTER WITH ROBBERS.

"But we are again on the road, and the hacienda of Don Claude Simon is scarcely out of sight, ere we are told that robbers may be expected. We went on, however, under this state of expectation until nearly eleven o'clock, when we approached a noted locality called the *Dos Ceritos*, or two small hills. Here the driver gave a low significant whistle as a warning to us inside, and we soon discovered seven mounted men coming over a rise to the left, and cautiously approaching the coach. The driver pulled up, and his assistant (there are always two on the box) got down and stood at the head of the team. The robbers having satisfied themselves of our numbers, and that we were not armed, came up and commenced operations. They were all masked—all wore India-rubber ponchos or serepas, all were armed with muskets or carbines and common horse-pistols, part with flint and part with percussion locks. One continued to circle at some distance around the coach, reconnoitering, three remained mounted with their muskets bearing upon us, three dismounted and ordered us to get out. We got out and they demanded money. I extracted eight dollars from my pockets, which was double the amount I had intended to have on hand for the occasion. As the scoundrels grabbed the cash, I asked them to leave a dollar to pay for breakfast. One of them signified that he would. They then fumbled all over our persons, rammed their hands into our pockets, &c., in search of concealed valuables. While undergoing this operation, my curiosity was such that I could not forbear breaking over one of the laws of the institution, and indulge my eyes with a good look at the robbers. The captain, who was on a beautiful white horse, discovered this, and bringing his carbine to bear full in my face, ordered me to lower my eyes. They obtained a few dollars from Mr. S., but nothing from the Mexican youth. The personal examination being over, their attention was turned to the coach. One of them, taking out my carpet bag, signified that he wished it opened. I gave him the key, he opened the bag, searched it thoroughly, but took nothing of its contents, locked it and handed me the key with some degree of politeness. Turning round, I discovered my companions a short distance from the coach, lying flat on the ground, face downwards. This is the position in which the robbers place travelers while they are searching the coach, baggage, &c. Sometimes the feet of passengers are tied together. Knowing that I would not be allowed to witness the conclusion of the performance, which was that of searching the coach, &c., I went out by my companions, and sat down with my back to the performers, resolved not to place myself in a more humiliating position until forced into it. The robbers ransacked a trunk belonging to Mr. S., took therefrom pantaloons, coat, and a few other articles, slammed down the top, threw the trunk back on the baggage rack, and buckled down the boot. They then searched the coach, running their hands into holes between the linings and into the cushions; examining the curtains beneath the seats, &c., &c. By a sly look now and then, I saw nearly the whole performance. That search being over, they came to us and pulled off our boots, and to my astonishment, this little operation paid them better than all else. In the lining of the Mexican's boot they found two gold ounces, ($32.) Having completed their search, the scoundrels mounted, all formed a line, and signified to us to enter the coach and be off. Soon as we were under way, I put my head out to take a parting look. 'They will fire at you, if you look after them,' exclaimed the Mexican. Nevertheless, I saw that they watched us in a body, until we were out of sight.

"This was being robbed in Mexico after the usual and most approved fashion. I have seen numerous stories of fights with robbers, but no very full account of a genteel operation, such as I have recounted, has come to my notice.

"This band of robbers, so far as I could discover, was composed of the common *greasers* of the country. They were quite taciturn, and what little they did say was in an undertone. They were in great haste, and the rascal who searched my person manifested so much tremor that I was inclined to tell him he should not be harmed. The affair came off in an open, slightly rolling country, with three haciendas in sight. Probably the owner of one of these haciendas was captain of the robbers. It appears that my experience in this affair was rather of a mild order. Sometimes the robbers, if they think they will be resisted, and desire to frighten passengers, open with a general fire upon the coach. Again, in their haste and tremor, they sometimes accidentally wound or kill, and they beat or otherwise maltreat travelers, according to the whim they may entertain at the time. Women are sometimes stripped nearly naked and otherwise badly used.

"Two months since, Mr. Barron of this city, an American named Taylor, also living here, and a Scotchman, came from Vera Cruz prepared to resist the robbers. Shortly after leaving Perote, they encountered a band, and during the skirmish, Taylor shot two of the *ladrones* dead; and from this time the diligence was ambushed and attacked at intervals by constantly-increasing numbers, until, within some fifteen miles of Puebla, the ammunition of the passengers gave out, and they barely escaped with their lives to the belfry of a small church near by, where they kept a large number of robbers at bay with a few remaining shots. News of the situation of these passengers was carried to Puebla, and a body of troops started out to relieve them. They arrived in the night, and dashing in among the robbers, opened fire. The freebooters, mistaking the government troops for an accession of their own forces, cried out: "*What do you fire upon us for? we are robbers too.*" A hard truth came out here in the dark. One party murders and robs on an extensive scale in the name of the church, and law and order; the other is composed of petty outsiders, who do things on a smaller scale, and are only fit to be hanged; so, securing four of the band, the troops hung them next morning on a tree by the roadside, and the passengers went on their way rejoicing. This is traveling in Mexico, and thus it has been, to a greater or less extent, since the country had a history. '*Dios y ley!*'

"Continuing our route, we had the delightful prospect of meeting two or three more bands of these highwaymen before reaching Puebla in the evening, and I began to feel exceedingly uncomfortable in the reflection that I might be obliged to enter that city in the full costume of a professor of the manly art of self-defence—*i. e.*, stripped to the buff. But some good spirit prevailed this day, and caused a heavy rain to fall, which gave us a free passage through a long stretch of the banditti district, until we reached a small puebla, called Napalucan, where we learned the robbers were awaiting us at one of their favorite localities about a league ahead, known as the *Barranca de Aguilar.* Just before arriving at this place we met several *arrieros*, who informed us that the ladrones had come down upon them at the Barranca and taken their entire train of *burros*, or donkeys, fifty-three in number, and made off with them to the mountains. Until recently this robbery of animals and freight-trains has not been usual, but now, entire trains with their loads, unless strongly guarded, are taken. The animals are kept secreted in the mountains several weeks, when they are driven by roundabout ways to the City of Mexico or elsewhere, and sold at a very low price, the parties purchasing driving them to other distant parts where the brands are not known and no questions asked, and in their turn, selling them to a profit. This is the system pursued in New Mexico and Arizona by those interesting and well-beloved citizens of the United States, known as Apaches. The only difference is, that the Government of Mexico has not yet reached that point of civilization and refinement which induces it to form treaties of peace and friendship with the highway Apaches of the Republic, and establish agencies whose duty it is to issue to the marauders rations, arms, &c., to carry on their predatory warfare; neither does the Mexican Government establish military posts which serve to create business for the robbers and cut-throats. And the Mexican Government, whether from a desire to put down opposition in business or not, does not matter here, but this Government does frequently catch and hang one of their highway Apaches. It might be well for the United States to learn how to regulate that portion of acquired Mexican territory named above, before entering deeper into the speculation.

"We passed the *Barranca de Aguilar*, and, in fact, completed the balance of the journey through the banditti district, without meeting any more robbers, or adventures worthy of note, and entered the City of Puebla at 7 P. M., amid the general ringing of bells. I thought a great celebration was in progress, but found it to be the hour of vespers.

THE CITY OF PUEBLA.

"The City of Puebla is situated on a beautiful and elevated plain, or table land, in the *terra templada*, 175 miles from Vera Cruz, and 75 miles from the City of Mexico.

"This city was founded at an early day by the Spaniards. The streets are perfectly level and run at right angles. The style of architecture which has come down from Assyria, and the solidity of structure which characterizes the labors of the Spaniard in this line, prevail here. The general arrangement of the city is exceedingly beautiful, and its locality is charming. The population is estimated at 70,000, and a more fanatical, thoroughly priest-ridden community cannot be found in the world.

"About 4 o'clock in the morning, I was aroused by a universal peal of bells. It continued down to the breakfast hour, until dinner, night, and into the night. This universal and constant ringing of bells I found to be one of the daily manifestations of paganism in the City of Puebla. The subject of bells is clear and distinct. The chime or sound of church bells, in time of peace, falls sweetly upon the ear, and carries an influence softly sad or cheering to the soul. Church bells, "bells on the wind," marriage bells, funeral bells, sleigh bells, dinner bells, and cow bells, each in moderation and in the proper place, perform their own particular service satisfactorily, but when it comes to a city full of churches, and the churches full of bells of all sizes and sounds, each one of which appears to be striving to clang-whang the loudest, out of all harmony and reason, from early dawn till night, the ear is palled, and one becomes disgusted with all bells. But thus it is in the City of Puebla, and in any other but a pagan community, the priesthood would be indicted for causing an infernal nuisance.

"The City of Puebla is full of pagodas, full of high officiating pagans, such as bishops, priests, friars, monks, and Jesuits; full of pictures and images, outside as well as inside the pagodas. The ceremony of taking off hats in the streets of Puebla is carried on to a ludicrous extent. The people take off their hats whenever they meet bishop, padre, monk, friar or Jesuit; whenever they pass an image, either in paint, plaster or wax, and whenever the bells indicate that some particular performance is going on in the pagodas. I made a calculation that a pagan devotee of Puebla, in passing through the streets, takes off his hat to bishop, padre, friar, monk, Jesuit, picture, statue or bells, on the average at least once in every two minutes, or thirty times per hour, giving to one whose occupation requires him to be in the streets, say eight hours per day, two hundred and forty opportunities to uncover.

"During the several days of my sojourn in Puebla, there were what are called "*funciones solemnes*," or solemn performances in the pagodas, and grand processions in the streets, with candles, lanterns, banners with every description of heathen device thereon; bands of music and cannon, filth, flash, tinsel, noise, abject stupidity and pagan fanaticism, led by those claiming to represent Christ on earth. The groups of bishops, padres, etc., which I had various opportunities of seeing here, presented the worst shaped heads, and in their persons the most gross and sensual appearance of any body of men that can be produced in any quarter of the globe.

"All this region of country at the present time is given up to rapine and murder. All the haciendas are suffering severely—some are approaching the point of ruin. A large portion of the proprietors are now residing in Puebla with their families, to avoid violence and annoyance from the lawful and unlawful banditti, who are constantly roaming over the country. Agriculture languishes, and all regular business in the towns and villages is exceedingly depressed. The City of Puebla itself has its full share of the evil. The poor are scarcely able to keep body and soul together, and many who have been in affluent circumstances are now needy. Religious and military officials carry matters with a higher hand than ever, coining gold out of the sweat and blood of the people; and this people, from first to last, are so lost in heathenism as to kiss the heel that is grinding them into the dust.

"But what says the Mexican account of this city? There is a book in common use here, recently published and written by one who styles himself "Jesus Hermosa," the literal translation of which is "Jesus Lovely." Speaking of Puebla, this book says: "The city contains 70,000 inhabitants, who are generally *valiant*, *hospitable*, *pious*, *courteous*, *and enlightened*."

FROM PUEBLA TO MEXICO.

"Having satisfied myself with regard to the community of Puebla, visited the Indian town of Cholulu, and seen something of the surrounding country, which is very beautiful, I resumed my journey to Mexico, taking a seat in the diligence at 4 A. M. The road between Puebla and the City of Mexico has been so very unsafe that, in order to keep up a communication between the two cities by diligence, the Government was obliged to appropriate an escort. This arrangement took place a few days before my arrival. We accordingly left with ten well mounted dragoons, and there was a relief at each post of about four leagues; until we reached the mountains, half way, the guard was increased, and there never were less than twenty to thirty in sight. The country from Puebla to Mexico, throughout the entire distance, is one of varied beauty. After leaving Puebla, you pass through the exquisitively beautiful valley of San Martin, and from thence begin to climb the highest mountains between the sea and the City of Mexico. About 12 M., high up in the mountains, you reach the little valley through which courses the small stream known as the Rio Frio. The village therein located, as seen from the top of the long hill, resembles a saw-mill settlement in Maine. And why not? A cold valley, rushing stream, and pine forests, which supply the City of Mexico in a great measure with lumber. As we drove up to the *fonda*, kept by a French woman six feet high, a regular Jonathan stood in the door—one of the old style, swallow tail, pantaloons retreating up his legs, and a huge freshly-peeled pine walking-stick in his hand. He was the presiding genius—the superintendent—of a glass manufactory in the neighborhood.

The road over the mountains is generally in a shocking condition. I could not but think, as I went thumping over this highway with aching bones, how much better would it be if the burly bishops, priests, friars, etc., of the central district of the Republic, were put to work breaking stone and macadamizing the roads, now in such a dreadful condition through their heathenish despotism. Hand labor would bring some of the moral filth out of them. Their labors and their dollars should be devoted to the repairing of every ruined highway in the Republic. They would then commence their work of penance in this world, in sight of the humanity they have so outraged for ages.

As you reach the summit of the highest mountain, the valley of Mexico, in all its variety and beauty, bursts upon the view. Take it all in all, probably nothing equal to it can be found in the world. Descending the zig-zag road you soon reach the table land, and pass on through villages and fields to the last post, ten miles from Mexico. From thence you pass over one of the finest avenues leading to the city. There were two well-filled coaches, and a mile from the city we met a cavalcade of some dozen *caballeros*, well mounted, who came out to greet friends, etc., and as we galloped on, I could not help thinking how much better this gay troup of some forty horsemen looked, escorting me into the city as a traveler rather than as a prisoner. President MIRAMON has my sincere thanks for this escort, and I wish all his troops were engaged in some such respectable duty. We entered the city at dusk, passed through the grand plaza, down a long street, dashed into a hole in the wall, rattled through arches and *patios*, and brought up with a jerk in the grand *patio* of the Hotel Iturbide.

MITLA.

PUBLIC OPINION ON MEXICO.

We continue the publication of extracts, in evidence of the mistaken public opinion on Mexico, so universally prevalent.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "ATLANTIC MONTHLY," FEBRUARY, 1860.

"It is impossible to believe that the Juarez government is possessed of much strength; and the gentleman who lately represented the United States in Mexico (Mr. Forsyth) is of opinion that it is powerless. Nevertheless, our government acknowledges that of Juarez, and has made itself a party to the contests in Mexico."

* * * * * *

"It is useless to quote the treaty which the Juarez government has just made with our government, as evidence of its liberality and good faith. That treaty is of no more value than would be one between the United States and the ex-king of Delhi. Nothing is more notorious than the liberality of parties that are not in power. There is no stipulation to which they will not assent, and violate, if their interest should be supposed to lie in the direction of perjury. Have we, in the hour of our success, been invariably true to the promises made in the hour of our necessities? A study of the treaty we made with France in 1778, by the light of after years, would be useful to men who think that a treaty made is an accomplished fact. The people of the United States have to choose between the conquest of Mexico and nonintervention in Mexican affairs. There may be something to be said in favor of conquest, though the President's arguments in that direction—for such they are, disguised though they be—remind us strongly of those which were put forth in justification of the partition of Poland; but the policy of intervention does not bear criticism for one moment. Either it is conquest veiled, or it is a blunder, the chance to commit which is to be purchased at an enormous price; and blunders are to be had for nothing, and without the expenditure of life and money."

EXTRACTS FROM THE "ATLANTIC MONTHLY," APRIL, 1860.

"That our government means to persevere in its designs against Mexico, in spite of the misfortunes of the Liberals, is to be inferred from all that we hear from Washington. The victories of Oajaca, Queretaro, and Colima, won by the Conservatives, have wrought no apparent change in the Presidential mind. So anxious, indeed, is Mr. Buchanan for the triumph of his plan, that he is ready to seek aid from his political opponents. Leading Republicans are to be consulted personally, and they are to be appealed to and asked patriotically to banish all party and 'sectional' feelings from their minds, while discussing the best mode of helping 'our neighbor' out of the Slough of Despond, so that she may be enabled to meet the demands we have upon her, —not in money, for that she has not, and we purpose giving her a round sum, but in land, of which she has a vast supply, and all of it susceptible of yielding good returns to servile industry.

* * * * * *

"We need not dwell upon the importance of second causes in the government of mankind. We find them at work in fixing the future of Mexico. The final cause of the absorption of Mexico by the United States will be the restless appropriating spirit of our people; but this might leave her a generation more of national life, were it not that her territory presents a splendid field for slave-labor, and that, both from pecuniary and from political motives, our slaveholders are seeking the increase of the number of Servile States."

* * * * * *

"We have said enough to show the capabilities of Mexico as a slaveholding country; and of the desire of American slaveholders to push their industrial system into countries adapted to it, there are, unfortunately, but too many proofs. They are prompted by the love of power and the love of wealth to obtain possession of Mexico, and the energy that is ever displayed by them when pursuing a favorite object will not allow us to doubt what the end of the contest upon which the United States are about to enter must be. We have, then, to consider the character of the people upon whom slavery is to be forced, and the probable effect of their subjugation to American dominion. The subject is far from being agreeable, and the consideration of it gives rise to the most painful thoughts that can move the mind.

* * * * * *

There is not an argument used in behalf of the rigid slave codes of several of our States which would not be applicable to the enslavement of the black and mixed Mexicans, all of whom would be of darker skins and less enlightened minds than the slaves that would be taken to the conquered land by the conquerors. How could the slaves thus taken there be allowed to see even their inferiors in the enjoyment of personal freedom? If the State of Arkansas can condescend to be afraid of a few hundred free negroes and mulattoes, and can illustrate its fear by turning them out of their homes in mid-winter, what might not be expected from a ruling caste in a new country, with two and a half millions of colored people to strike terror into the souls of those comprising it? Just or humane legislation could not be looked for at the hands of such men, who would be guilty of that cruelty which is born of injustice and terror. The white race of Mexico would join with the intrusive race to oppress the mixed races; and as the latter would be compelled to submit to the iron pressure that would be brought to bear upon them, more than two millions of slaves would be added to the servile population of America, and would become the basis of a score of Representatives in the national legislature, and of as many Presidential Electors; so that the practice of the grossest tyranny would give to the Slaveholding States, *per saltum*, as great an increase of political power as the Free States could expect to achieve through a long term of years illustrated by care and toil and the most liberal expenditure of capital.

"The Indians would fare no better than the mixed races, though the mode of degradation might differ from that which would be pursued toward the latter. The Indians of Mexico are a race quite different from the Indians whom we have exterminated or driven to the remote West. They are a sad, a superstitious, and an inert people, upon whom Spanish tyranny has done its perfect work.

* * * * * *

"Even if it should not be sought to enslave the Indians of Mexico, that race would not be the less doomed. There seems to be no chance for Indians in any country into which the Anglo-Saxon enters in force. A system of free labor would be as fatal to the Mexican Indians as a system of slave labor. The whites who would throng to Mexico, on its conquest by Americans, and on the supposition that slavery should not be established there, would regard the Indians with sentiments of strong aversion. They would hate them, not only because they were Indians,—which would be deemed reason enough,—but as competitors in industry, who could afford to work for low wages, their wants being few, and the cost of their maintenance small. It is charged against the Indians that they are not flesh-eaters; and white men prefer meat to any other description of food. Place a flesh-eating race in antagonism with a race that lives on vegetables, and the former will eat up the latter. The sentiment of the whites toward the Indians is not unlike that which has been expressed by an American statesman, who says that the cause of the failure of Mexico to establish for herself a national position is to be sought and found in her acknowledgment of the political equality of her Indian population. He would have them degraded, if not absolutely enslaved; and degradation, situated as they are, implies their extinction. This is the opinion of one of the ablest men in the Democratic party, who, though a son of Massachusetts, is ready to go as far in behalf of slavery as any son of South Carolina.

"Another eminent Democrat, no less a man, indeed, than President Buchanan, is committed to very different views. He is the patron of Juarez, whom he would support with all the power of the United States, and whose government he would carry to "the halls of the Montezumas" in the train of an American army. Now Juarez is a pure-blooded and full-blooded Indian. Not a drop of Castilian blood, blue or black, flows in his veins. He is a genuine Toltec, a member of that mysterious race which flourished in the Valley of Mexico ages before the arrival of the Artecs, and the marvellous remains of whose works astonish the traveller in Yucatan and Guatemala."

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH MADE BY THE HON. FRANK BLAIR, BEFORE A NEW YORK AUDIENCE, AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE, JANUARY 25TH, 1860.

"A treaty has been negotiated with Juarez, a pure blooded Indian, and who in the war of castes now existing in that unhappy country is recognized as President by the chiefs commanding in the outlying States or departments where the Indian races predominate in Mexico. His authority is disowned in the capital, and the central States where the white race has some remains of strength, and where the church, which has so long shielded them from the overwhelming numbers of the Indian and colored races, still guards and defends them with her power and influence. Mr. Buchanan has leagued himself with the Indian Juarez in this war of religion and caste; leagued himself with the chief who has by edict already confiscated the property of the Catholic church, and will exterminate its defenders of the white race, in order to possess himself of its spoils. The treaty which has been negotiated by our President, proposes to furnish four millions of money to Juarez to prosecute this war against the Catholic church and the white men of Mexico. The President also asks that Congress shall surrender to him the war-making power, in order that he may support Juarez with the arms of the United States, and with troops levied among the fillibusters, who are looking with longing eyes to the plunder of Mexico and its ultimate possession. The Dred Scott decision having already overthrown our free institutions, would carry slavery into this new conquest, and the system of peonage, the hereditary servitude of debt, would still more readily become assimilated to the peculiar institution. Inexorable, indeed, is the demand for the extension of slavery, when it compels Mr. Buchanan to league himself with an Indian in a war of caste and religion—a war against the proprietary class of Mexico, and to confiscate the estates of that church whose members in this country elevated him to the Presidency. (Applause.)"

That very respectable journal, the *Philadelphia North American and Gazette*, has a Washington correspondence over the signature of "*Independant*," which forms a prominent feature in the paper. This correspondence has followed up the liberals and their cause, and public opinion on Mexico, with marvelous pertinacity, in the following style:

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE OF THE PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN "INDEPENDENT," JULY 12, 1860.

(*After the defeat of the Mexican Treaty.*)

" When it was thought a political object could be promoted by extending aid and comfort to the mongrels and mixed breeds of Mexico, who, under the name of Liberals, were seeking possession of power, but unwilling to fight for it as brave men should do, the President was prompt enough to recognize the Indian Juarez, who knows as much about liberty, in its high sense, as he does about the Koran.

" It turned out like most of his experiments, and the 'Constitutional President' of Mexico has not been able to survive the partiality of his friend in the White House."

The foregoing extracts, in connection with those from the *Tribune*, given as examples of the prevailing public opinion on Mexico, also afford a fair illustration of the manner in which our relations with that country have been treated by the leaders of the Republican party in the United States, especially since the arrival of the McLean-Ocampo treaty in Washington.

We have noted exceptions to this general course among Republican journals; also, that a limited number of journals not Republican, have taken sufficient interest in the matter to give their earnest and intelligent advocacy to the policy that countenances the liberals of Mexico, and a treaty of amity and commerce with the constitutional government of that country. But powerful as this advocacy was, it made no impression on the public mind, so effectual has been the perverted use of mistaken public opinion on Mexico, and so artfully have our sectional politicians managed in casting the bad character of our present administration, over those wise and honest measures with the neighboring Republic, which happened to be brought out under its auspices.

The reader will at once perceive how closely the idea of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and of the *London Saturday Review*, relative to the *Indian element* in Mexico, is followed throughout all the extracts herein given. Because the Indians, the aborigines, the *natives* of Mexico, who have for centuries writhed and groaned under the heel of the oppressor, are, according to the best of their ability, endeavoring to achieve freedom, they are abused and denounced from one end of christendom to the other. Because they are Indians, *natives*, and have a *dark skin*, they are held up to the scorn and derision of the whole world. And who are foremost in thus denouncing the Indian race of Mexico, and doing their best to crush out the aspirations for liberty in this race, because it is *Indian*, and has a *dark skin?* Why, they are those who call themselves the leaders of the great Republican party in the United States—leaders who are fairly screaming into the public ear their hatred of oppression, their love for their *black* brother in bondage; their determination to give him freedom at all hazards, and place him on an equality with his white brother at the earliest possible moment! What a fathomless depth of cant and hypocrisy this glaring inconsistency reveals. The light it gives penetrates the dark, cavernous abodes of fanatacism, and brings out in bold relief the hideous, ghastly spectre of the "irrepressible conflict."

Here is a subject of contemplation for Christians, philosophers, political economists, and humanitarians of every grade. The study of this most extraordinary anomaly has become exceedingly interesting to us, and we fear its solution will not prove a very flattering commentary on the progress of Christianity and freedom in the United States.

The Indian element in Mexico *is not* the controlling element in the present revolution in that country, as all the authorities from which we quote persist in asserting. But admit that the Indian element is the controlling element, how does it strengthen or improve their argument against *liberty* in Mexico?

We have not the space in the present number of our publication to give any lengthy reply to the quoted extracts. A full exposition of the ethnological, religious and political elements now at work among the Mexican people, upon which all these extracts touch in a manner calculated to give the public entirely erroneous views, would transcend the limits of several numbers of the MEXICAN PAPERS. At the present moment, we must be content with simply pointing out some of the most prominent errors in these extracts.

In the first place, we will inquire whether the Mexican nation is what the *Tribune*, in characteristic language, denominates it,—"a huge, slunk mass of civilization!" And we will further inquire whether the world is so thorougly subdued, and the surplus of ready-made laboring men and women is so great, that several millions of this class of inhabitants in the southern part of Mexico may be suffered to "fester and putrefy at leisure," after we have acquired the northern part of that country, "on our own terms," having assisted it to fall to pieces? It is estimated that the amount of gold and silver legally exported from Mexico since the conquest, up to the year 1858, is $4,640,204,889, or an average of $13,687,920 per annum from the landing of CORTEZ to 1858. It is a well known fact that a large amount of specie and bullion has, from the commencement, been smuggled out of Mexico, and $6,000,000,000 is doubtless nearer the amount actually sent out of the country, than that represented by the official records. This is one item only of material development by the race now so denounced by our philosophers and philanthropists. The Indians have performed the labor, and white people have got the bullions. It is true, the Indians have labored under the pressure of body and soul-squeezing agencies, and if Christianity, freedom, humanity and knowledge are obstacles in the material development of a country, then our great republican leaders are right, in an economical point of view, in denouncing the liberals of Mexico and sustaining the bigotry and despotism that have ruled the country so long.

Another prominent error running through all the writings and speeches of leading republicans, opposed to the Mexican liberals and the Mexican treaty, is, wherein they attribute to what they term Mr. BUCHANAN'S Mexican Policy, any desire or purpose on the part of that functionary to co-operate with the south in a plan for the extension of slavery. Mr. BUCHANAN is not amenable to any such charge, and it has not, in any of its bearings, the slightest foundation in fact. We have taken the liberty to comment on the *incompetency* of Mr. BUCHANAN'S administration to achieve success in our relations with Mexico, by reason of its *ignorance* of the subject, and its lack of *moral power.* The truth is, the Mexican question had, in reality, overridden Mr. BUCHANAN'S administration before Mr. MCLANE was despatched to Mexico, and that administration has had little or no force, ability or power in bringing forth the new policy with Mexico now before the country, and which must be attributed to Mr. MCLANE, who wrought it out under peculiar and extraordinary circumstances. When, therefore, the partizans of Mr. BUCHANAN bring forward the recognition of the constitutional government of Mexico and the Mexican treaty, as an evidence of his wisdom and far-reaching policy,—and when his enemies bring up the same measures as an evidence of his being in league with southern slavery extensionists,—both parties are indulging equally in egregrious and absurd errors.

What contemptible features in American politics the elucidation of these matters discloses!

It is proper to state here, that we never have had one word of conversation on the subject of slavery with our Minister to Mexico, or any other party concerned in the recognition of the constitutional government, or in the negotiation of the treaty with that government. Whatever remarks appear in the

Mexican Papers relative to the subject of slavery, are made on our own responsibility, as a matter distinct from any intercourse we may have had with parties in Washington, or in Mexico.

If ever a great measure of general and vital importance to the whole country came before the United States Senate without the negro in it, we believe it was the McLane-Ocampo Treaty, but the negro was lugged in, and, of course, the ruin of the measure followed. The history of the treaty, which we have given, is sufficient evidence of the truth of what we assert relative to this point.

Another prominent error, *the most prominent of all*, in fact, promulgated by republican organs and orators is, wherein they represent with so much assurance and persistency, the possibility of extending slavery beyond its present limits, and the designs of the pro-slavery party in this respect, more especially with regard to the territory of New Mexico and the neighboring Republic of Mexico. There are a few of us who have had a practical experience in these countries, and we well know that all this rant and cant about the extension of slavery throughout those regions is *pure gammon.* We would say to all those "irrepressible conflict" apostles who are *sincerely* promulgating so great an error, if there are any such, "you are a hundred years behind the age, you have no knowledge of your subject, and you are wasting an immense amount of time, words, pens, ink, and paper."

We suppose the belief that slavery cannot go into the territories, is the foundation, in Mr. Douglas' mind, of his doctrine of non-intervention ; and we notice the orators of the Bell and Everett party assert that the character of our territories is now fixed for freedom, and that slavery cannot enter in. You are right on that point, gentlemen, and you ought not to be content with the mere belief and assertion relative to the fixed character of our territories, but follow up the subject closely. Take higher, bolder ground. Show how immensely free territory has gained over slave territory in these United States, and on this continent, since the adoption of our federal constitution. Get your evidence and prove that slavery has found its limits on this continent, and though there is a pro-slavery party, there are, in reality, *no slavery extensionists*, because those who are called such *know full well how impossible it is to extend the institution.* Demand of the "irrepressible conflict" apostles why it is that Texas does not propose to divide herself up into states, as she has a right to do under the compact by which she came into the Union. Demand of those apostles how it was that California leaped into the Union a free State; and how it is that New Mexico, a territory that has been open to slavery twelve years has no slaves; and why it is that the law protecting slavery, passed by the local legislature a year and a half since, has had the effect to make apparent the impossibility of planting slavery in that territory, instead of giving birth to a single hope for the institution. Demand how it is that the territory of Arizona, open to slavery six years, has no slaves, and knows not the meaning of slavery from any experience of her own. Follow the subject into Mexico. *Show that the character of the adjoining Republic is fixed for freedom.*

Follow the subject still farther, and make it known how the Mexican question has completely overridden the Republican party, and that this momentous question which must be settled by the next administration, stands no chance in the hands of those Republican leaders who have no foreign policy, and who would assume power in Washington with even less moral weight on this question than the present administration.

The "irrepressible conflict" leaders dread these developments more than all else. Mr. SEWARD feels that they are already beginning to have their influence, and he is exerting himself to destroy the effect and keep up the sectional flame until after the election in November next. We detect this in every speech he makes on his western tour. Mr. SEWARD has clothed himself with an idea—the assumption that he is the incarnation of something like a Divine Essence—the spirit of progressive freedom on this continent, and many good people bow down to him as such.

You who take the opposite ground, and whose business it is, give the people light on this subject. THE PEOPLE NEED

LIGHT! They are ready to receive it. Every ray shed does some good, even at this late moment. Follow up the demagogues and fanatics, and puncture the wickedest political humbug that ever cast its dark and threatening shadow over a great and prosperous nation.

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THE MEXICAN QUESTION,
THE GREAT AMERICAN QUESTION.

WITH

Personal Reminiscences,

BY

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

A SERIAL—ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY.

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PERSONAL.

A THOROUGH knowledge of the city of Mexico, with its peculiarities of geographical position, variety of race, religion, finance, trade, and social life, is indispensable to a clear comprehension of the Mexican question. The ethnological, political, and religious forces now at work throughout the republic have their bases in the capital, and a fair and careful examination should be given to these also, in order that the subject may be fully understood in its length, breadth, and detail.

It is with this view of the matter that I am induced to give the following discursive remarks respecting the Mexican capital and its surroundings.

The city of Mexico is situated in latitude 19° 25′ 45″ N., and longitude 103° 45′ 53″ W. from Greenwich. Its elevation above the sea is 7,500 feet. The mean temperature of the city is 17° (R) 21° (cent.). The barometer varies between 23° and 23.2 English inches. The magnetic needle declines 8° 30′ 12″ to the east. The prevailing winds are north-east and north.

The climate is delightful to the senses, but the highly rarified atmosphere does not prove favorable to the perfection of health, or the highest mental and physical development of man, according to the standard of the white race north of the isothermal line.

A stranger's first impressions of the city of Mexico are always of the most favorable nature. In the first place, one cannot reach the city without passing through regions of romantic interest, beauty, and grandeur, sufficient of themselves to excite the imagination to a most extravagant degree. Skies in which are exquisitely blended the soft and brilliant, a pellucid, bland atmosphere, circling mountains rising at intervals in stupendous volume, piercing the heavens with their perennial snow-capped peaks, and overlooking a valley of surpassing beauty in its carpeting of green, its lakes and meandering streams, its villages and churches embosomed in groves and surrounded by richly-cultivated fields—all these dilate the eye of wonder and prepare the traveller of sound and sober judgment, even, to believe in the marvellous as he approaches the site of ancient Tenochtitlan. He enters the comparatively modern city of Mexico, and his eye ranges with pleasure through the long straight streets, lined with buildings of a light color and pleasing order of architecture; and here and there in his perambulations, he stops to admire a private residence or public building, which, in its extent, solidity, taste, and imposing grandeur, cannot fail to induce the belief that the people are far advanced in civilization and refinement.

The display of wares and merchandise in the shops of the traders is brilliant and attractive. Beautiful French porcelain, costly jewelry, articles of cunning device in gold and silver, heavy rich silks and gaudy-colored cottons fill the windows and shelves. Parades and processions, military and religious, are almost daily seen in the streets. Every afternoon the wealth and fashion of the city congregate on the *Paseo*, a long avenue or carriage-road, lined with ash, poplar, and willow, and running through the southern suburbs of the city. Here, Mexican gentlemen in gay costume and mounted on fine horses, pompously caparisoned, prance to and fro, or stand by the roadside to catch a glimpse of the ladies as they roll past in their equipages, the most of which are extravagant and showy. The scene is gay, brilliant, almost splendid; and here again the observing stranger is induced to believe that the people must be high in the scale of that social intercourse and refinement which make life profitable and agreeable. In his ordinary intercourse with the higher classes, the stranger encounters a dignified, gracious style of address and courtly manners. Fortuitously or otherwise, he may be the recipient of stylish civilities on the part of individual residents of the city, foreign or native. In short, the channels of observation ordinarily open to travellers and transient sojourners in the city of Mexico, are calculated to create in the mind a totally false opinion of the political, social, and moral condition of the people. It is a city of glittering, imposing superficialities.

These outside appearances have been most artfully contrived and maintained; and, up to the present time, they have thoroughly served the purpose for which they were contrived, namely, to cover up the revolting mass of rottenness and corruption that poisons religion, politics, and society in this the favorite centre of Spanish civilization on the American continent.

The valley of Mexico, near the centre of which the city of Mexico is situated, is some fifty miles long and thirty miles wide. This valley is supposed to be the enormous crater of an extinct volcano, covered over with a crust of earth of recent formation. The locality of the city of Mexico, originally an alkali lake, presents the same physical features in its foundation as New Orleans, being a flat marsh, and water everywhere found three or four feet below the surface. For this reason, many of the buildings have settled considerably, and earthquakes have done their share of mischief. The last severe one which occurred June 19th, 1858, cracked some of the largest and most substantial structures, and swayed others out of line.

Father Motolinia, a monk, who was with Cortez at the time of the conquest of Mexico, enumerates what he considers to have been the "ten plagues of New Spain," one of which was "the rebuilding of the city of Mexico," principally, it is to be supposed, by reason of the fearful amount of human suffering, and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of human lives under the cruel and relentless power of the Spaniards, by which the reconstruction of the city was forced. It may also be inferred that even in the day of the conquerors, it became apparent that in some respects, a more favorable site for the foundation of the new city could have been found not very far distant from the old one—a site equally beautiful, and where greater permanency would have been attained with much less labor and expense.

The accounts relating to the population of the city of Mexico are interesting, and in the highest degree instructive. The building of the city by the Spaniards, on the old site of Tenochtitlan, dates eighty-eight years before the settlement of Virginia, and one hundred years before the landing of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts. Accounts respecting the population of Tenochtitlan at the time of the conquest, like every thing else relating to that event and to the country, are very contradictory, and, in a great degree, unreliable. The Abbe CLAVIJERO proves that the estimates of the population of the capital of the Aztec empire at the date of its fall, vary from 60,000 to 1,500,000! HUMBOLT concedes about 400,000. CORTEZ gives the number of inhabitants in the new city of Mexico, in 1524, three years after the conquest, as 30,000. In 1790, Count REVILLA GIGEDO ordered a census of the city, which gave 112,926 as the number of inhabitants at that date. In 1803, HUMBOLT classified the population of the capital as follows:—

White Europeans,	2,500
White Creoles,	65,000
Indigenous (copper colored),	33,000
Mustizos (mixture of whites and Indians),	26,500
Mulattoes,	10,000
Total,	137,000

The latest official accounts (1856) represent the population of the city as 185,000. I have seen no recent classification of the inhabitants of the city of Mexico after the manner of HUMBOLT. It is probable that something like the same relative proportion of races that existed when Humbolt wrote (1803), holds good now, with the exception of the mulattoes, this race having entirely disappeared. Very few mulattoes are found on the table lands of Mexico, and a full-blooded negro is seldom met with. It is an important fact, and one which appears as yet to have attracted little or no attention, that the climate in those regions is destructive to the negro race. This is, doubtless, owing to the highly rarified and dry atmosphere, which does not admit of that free perspiration indispensable to the full development of those perceptible emanations of a strong animal nature, so essential to negro perfection. There is an entirely wrong impression abroad relative to the amount of negro blood in the republic of Mexico. It is supposed to be considerable, whereas, in many of the states, its existence, even, is not known; and only in certain very limited districts, of which Vera Cruz may be considered the principal, can negroes and mulattoes be found; and even in those districts they are few in number.

On arriving in the city of Mexico, June, 1859, I found a surplus population numbering altogether something over 200,000. Many people from the surrounding country, who could afford the expense, had resorted thither for greater safety. An increased demand for the necessaries of life brought in a great number of producers with their products, from all quarters; and under a ruinous system of depletion to the people at large, the streets were thronged, and "from hand-to-mouth" traffic was brisk. Owing to the deranged state of affairs occasioned by the civil war, many of the streets were in a very bad condition; some, in fact, almost impassable for the want of repairs, and others blocked up by filth, reeking in offensive odors. Improvements of every kind were at a stand. That delightful place of public resort, the Alemeda, appeared to be entirely neglected, and the grounds generally wore a slovenly and uninviting aspect. I understand that during the past year, the work of ruin has gone on more rapidly than ever, and that under the present order of things, dilapidated ruins and filth will, ere long, predominate in the recently beautiful and inviting capital of the Mexican republic.

It is a well-understood fact that when Spain exercised her dominion over Mexican territory, the city of Mexico was the centre of political, religious, financial, and social influence and power throughout all that portion of the Spanish possessions. The Spaniards were supreme throughout the length and breadth of the land. They held every office of the government; they monopolized the best trade of the country, and nearly all the active capital. Every avenue to political or social prominence of position was, for three centuries, most effectually closed to native-born Mexicans—Creoles, even, not being allowed to hold office, or to take part or lot in the management of the affairs of the country, either political, religious, or social. To such a degree of degradation were the native citizens of the country reduced, that the highest-born, best-educated, and most-refined Mexican lady would wed with a common Spanish boor rather than with a native Mexican gentleman, in order to secure something like a social position, and escape the odium and oppression that fell to the lot of the cruelly-proscribed Mexican race. Hence, with the first revolution, arose the popular cry of, "*Death to the Gachupins!*" Who can wonder that the Mexicans hate the Spaniards with undying hatred?

Mexico became independent of Spain in 1821, and the federal compact upon which she presented herself before the world as a republic, was made in 1824. Here we come to the most important chapter in the modern history of Mexico—a chapter which, in my opinion, is but little understood.

Singular as it may appear, the separation of Mexico from Spain, or what is termed the independence of Mexico, was brought about by the Mexican clergy! But this fact must not induce any one to believe that the Mexican clergy, in a single instance, ever favored a movement that tended in the slightest degree to real independence and freedom. The regular clergy were the most active and bitter opponents of HIDALGO, and other revolutionary leaders, down to 1820, when intelligence was received in Mexico of the revolt of the Spanish army in the Isle of Leon, and the revolution in Spain. The republican feeling which manifested itself at this time in Spain startled the Mexican clergy; and when, at a later period, the viceroy, DON JUAN APODACA, received an order from the Cortes of Spain to proclaim the constitution to which FERDINAND had been compelled to swear, and to which was attached a decree *confiscating the property of the Mexican Church*, the clergy at once changed front, and the result was, the *Plan of Iguala*, proclaimed by ITURBIDE at the town of Iguala, February 12, which severed at once and forever the connection between the colonies and the mother country. The basis of the Plan of Iguala was that the *Mexican Church only should be tolerated in Mexico.*

A glimmering of the liberty and constitutional freedom enjoyed by the republic of the United States, had penetrated the Mexican country over which the cloud of despotism hung like the pall of night. The idea of liberty was abroad among the people, but they had no power to carry it out. The Mexican nation was prostrate—beaten, battered, and sore under three centuries of iniquitous oppression, both civil and religious. Ten years of devastating, cruel civil war had intensified the troubles of the people. Ignorance and poverty prevailed, and crime was rampant. In the city of Mexico, it seemed as though the army of beggars, thieves, and assassins, known as *leperos*, would devour the little substance that remained.

What a state of affairs upon which to start the hazardous experiment of a democratic form of government, for which the people had had no training, such as was enjoyed by the people of the United States before they declared and gained their independence! The Mexican Church alone had the vitality and power to separate Mexico from Spain. This was accomplished by the church for the sole purpose of saving its property; and that ethnic institution was not only successful in this its first object, but it became a greater power than ever in the land. It is true that the democracy of Mexico subsequently secured the name and some of the forms of a republican government; but it was the shadow without the substance.

So long as Spain ruled Mexico, the Mexican Church communicated with the Church in Spain, and not with the See of Rome. It was several years subsequent to the independence of Mexico before the Pope ventured to officially recognize the Mexican Church, and dispatch his Nuncio to the incipient republic. Under the new order of things, the concentration of ecclesiastical power in the city of Mexico became greater than ever. New and more vigorous manifestations of the greed and lust of the clergy appeared, and they wielded their despotic power with increased force and effect. The superstitious feelings of the people were alone cultivated; the sale of indulgences, great and small, of holy bits of paper, ribbon, gold, etc., etc., was increased. The enormous fees demanded and enforced for the marriage ceremony, caused thousands and tens of thousands of men and women to cohabit together under no legal form or ceremony. The cost of the burial service was made so great as to require a poor man to labor for years in order to secure that priestly adieu to his body on earth which, according to their creed, would insure his blissful resurrection in heaven. The clergy have held a preponderating influence in all civil as well as religious matters. They caused to be established for their benefit what are known as *fueros*, or special privileges, by which they are constituted a religious hierarchy and a moneyed oligarchy, managing their vast property and all their affairs, both secular and ecclesiastical, without being amenable to any law of the land. The Mexican Church holds over one hundred millions of real estate, and mortgages innumerable on real property, of which there is no public record, and on which no taxes are paid.

The Mexican Church, as a church, fills no mission of virtue, no mission of morality, no mission of mercy, no mission of charity. Virtue cannot exist in its pestiferous atmosphere; the code of morality does not come within its practice; it knows no mercy, and no emotion of charity ever moves the stony heart of that priesthood which, with an avarice that has no limit, filches the last penny from the diseased and dying beggar, plunders the widows and orphans of their substance, as well as their virtue, and casts such a horoscope of horrors around the death-bed of the dying millionaire, that the poor, superstitious wretch is glad to purchase a chance for the safety of his soul by making the church heir to his treasures.

This, in brief, is the Mexican Church as I comprehend it from personal observation, and to prove that I have observed aright, it is only necessary to point to the universal ruin and misery its rule has brought upon the country and the people. What nation on earth, I ask, could live and prosper under such a horrible incubus as this? The Mexican Church always has been, and so long as it exists, always will be the great element of evil in Mexico, and there will be no peace, prosperity, or progress in the country until this church is overthrown and totally destroyed, root and branch.

Having briefly defined the *status* of the church in Mexico, and the position it has occupied as the chief element of evil in the country, it now becomes necessary to explain how other powers, influences, or agencies conspired with the church at the outset to turn the project of a republican form of government into a sham, and deliver the country over to plunder under a new system more despotic and destructive than the old.

The federate states of Mexico started on their political course under the name of a republic, and with some of the forms of a democratic government, in 1824, with Victoria as president. The leading foreign powers, except Spain, recognized the new republic, and dispatched their ambassadors thither; and the advocates of freedom throughout the world indulged in a hope for Mexico. Victoria served out the presidential term of four years. It was the first and last term ever filled to the end by any one of the incumbents of the office of president of the republic of Mexico. During the term of Victoria, and some three or four years subsequent, all those evils that have so afflicted the masses of the Mexican people, and given the republic such a bad name, took their distinct form and purpose. First and foremost among these was the Church. Then appeared the old Spanish leaven of iniquity, as developed by what remained of Gachupin capitalists and traders scattered throughout the country, with their bitter hatred of the Mexican race. Then arose a desperate and unprincipled host of conspirators against Mexican liberty, of the Spanish school of intrigue, backed by a thoroughly demoralized band of army officers without pay or occupation; and in 1826 the furious civil strife between the parties known as Escoceses and Yorkinos, names of Masonic lodges, broke out in the city of Mexico.

The new-fledged republic succeeded in effecting a loan of $32,000,000 in England, and this, with the heavy investments of English capital in mining and trading enterprises, which took place in the early days of the republic, gave to British diplomacy an influence in the affairs of the Mexican people, superior to that of any other foreign power. A strict regard for historical truth compels me to state that British diplomacy in Mexico has, from first to last, next to the church, been one of the chief obstacles to the progress of liberal principles in that country. In this matter the British government has acted on a false conception of political necessity an l commercial interest, namely, opposition to the spread of the institutions and interests of the United States on this continent.

In 1825 the American government dispatched the Hon. JOEL R. POINSETT as minister to Mexico. This gentleman made a good beginning, but, subsequent to his term, American diplomacy has made but a poor figure in the neighboring republic, having generally *followed* in the wake of despotic agencies—never *leading* in favor of freedom and progress, until the present moment.

Spain, at first, refused to recognize Mexican independence, and for years she used all her artifices to create discord in the new republic, with the hope of regaining her ancient colonies. But at last, in 1839, Spain recognized the federate government of Mexico, and Señor CALDERON DE LA BARCA was appointed minister to that government. The first envoy from Spain was received in the national capital with considerable friendly enthusiasm, which, however, proved but momentary, and relations between the two countries have been continued under feelings of cordial hatred but poorly concealed on both sides.

All that can be said of French diplomacy in Mexico is, that of late years, it has been conspicuous only in its efforts to sustain despotic rule, both civil and religious.

I have thus very briefly set forth the diplomacy of leading foreign powers in Mexico, as one of the principal agencies which has persistently and effectually opposed the successful development of a liberal, democratic form of government in the so-called republic.

Under the combined exertions and influence of all these despotic agencies, unfriendly to the regeneration of Mexico, arbitrary laws, regulating the foreign commerce and internal trade of the country, by which these branches of business were constituted the most odious and oppressive of monopolies, were established and perfected. A high tariff on the bulk of foreign importations was imposed, and these same goods, in passing to the interior, have always been subject to what are known as *alcavalas*, a series of interior duties, state, municipal, etc., which, in many instances, amount to more than two hundred per cent. of the original cost of the goods. Common brown sheetings, the cotton goods most used by the poor Mexicans, and which can be purchased in our shops at retail for eight or ten cents per yard, are sold in the interior of Mexico at twenty-five to thirty-seven cents per yard.

This system of excessive charges on imported merchandise, in connection with the high rate of duty imposed on specie and bullion exported from the country, is another of the great evils under which Mexico has suffered. It has proved the most prolific source of corruption in the government of the country, from the highest dignitary of state down to the lowest municipal officer; and so great is the premium it offers to smuggling, that nearly the whole trade of the country is more or less of a contraband character. The system of smuggling in Mexico commenced, in fact, with the inauguration of the republic. In 1830, certain American merchants were the most prominent in this business, especially on the Pacific coast. In a few years the American smugglers were superseded by Europeans, who have since held the monopoly of the Mexican Pacific trade, based on the smuggling system. It sometimes happens that Mexican officials cannot be bribed, and a foreign merchant caught in false proceedings or downright smuggling, is arrested and treated according to law. Forthwith, a messenger is dispatched post haste, to the foreign minister in the city of Mexico, generally English, with a flaming account of high-handed outrages against the person and property of a foreign citizen by the barbarous Mexicans. The foreign minister in the city of Mexico always knows of some tender spot in the general government upon which an effectual pressure can be brought to bear, and, willingly or unwillingly, an official order is dispatched from head-quarters to the effect that ample remuneration for all damages and an humble apology for all insults must be accorded to the outraged foreign citizen; and sooner or later, the order is enforced. Bring the fact home to those parties that they are engaged in a contraband business and they do not deny it, but denounce the government that will establish a tariff so excessive, and affect to contemn and despise a people who will tolerate it. When, however, the people determine not to submit to this oppressive tariff any longer, and rise in support of a liberal government, based on a constitution which abolishes the high tariff and establishes the principles of free trade, where do you find those foreign contraband traders? You find them, and the ministers of their respective governments, resident at the national capital, in league with the most active and powerful foes of that same constitutional government of the people which would do away with all premium and excuse for smuggling, and relieve the country of one of the greatest evils under which it suffers. The reason for this course on the part of these foreign contraband traders is obvious. A material reduction of the Mexican tariff would break up the monopoly they enjoy. A few of these influential foreign traders, with their respective ministers, resident in the capital, regulate, in fact, the entire commerce and trade of the country. They sustain a high tariff and other hindrances to general business, by which means they create a monopoly. They wrong the government out of its just revenues, derange its finances, and impoverish its treasury, while, as powerful monopolists, they exact from the people extravagant prices for their wares and merchandise. Even the European ambassadors, resident in Mexico, frequently take advantage of this state of affairs and of their position, to obtain a goodly share of the plunder. It is but a few years since that the French minister in the city of Mexico, imported carriages under the seal of the legation to such an extent, that one evening a mob, composed mostly of those whose interests were seriously injured by these importations, broke open the repository of the French minister, dragged therefrom his stock in trade, some sixty carriages, and burned them on the public Plaza! The English and French ministers who recently left Mexico, it is said with large fortunes made in that country, are accused by their own countrymen located in the capital, of having been extensively engaged in this species of contraband transactions, by which large quantities of merchandise have been brought into the city, to the injury of its general and regular trade.

Suppose Lord Lyons, English minister, resident in Washington, should enter English broadcloths, duty free, in the port of New York, under the seal of his legation, to such an extent as to injure the trade of the regular dealers in the article. Suppose M. Mercier, French minister, resident in Washington, should enter French carriages or French millinery goods duty free, in the port of New York, under the seal of his Legation, to such an extent as to injure the regular business in those articles. Strange and unaccountable as it may appear, these things are done by the ministers of the high and mighty European Powers, resident in Mexico; and the half is not told. But are not such facts as these alone sufficient to prove how utterly abased Mexico has been by that foreign horde of sordid and vicious harpies who, as Christians, arrogate to themselves the right to fasten their Christian fangs—none are sharper, none penetrate deeper—upon the poor, benighted Mexican people, and revel in the life-blood of the nation?

It is well known that Mexico owes a heavy foreign debt, principally to the English. The Mexican government stipulated in convention to set aside a large portion, some forty-eight per cent. of the duties received at the custom-houses, in payment of this foreign debt. The system of smuggling carried on by foreigners on the Pacific coast, and enforced by British men-of-war, deprives the government of nearly all revenue in that quarter, while in the Gulf ports, commerce is crippled, and the revenue of the government is, at certain periods, cut down to a low figure, by the irregular proceedings and hard exactions of foreign ministers, consuls, and traders. A thorough exposure of the universal system of plunder to which Mexico is subjected in her business relations by foreign officials and traders, and a few capitalists, foreign and native, who mostly reside in the capital, would prove that the government of that country is defrauded out of more than three quarters of its lawful revenue; and yet, when that government cannot respond for its foreign debts, these same foreign ministers denounce, threaten, and bully, and on recent occasions, they have even ordered their fleets to open fire upon Vera Cruz, the principal seaport on the Gulf, and exact payment from the constitutional government there located, at the cannon's mouth. Where is the nation on the face of the earth that is made to suffer such abominable treatment as this?

I have thus briefly set forth the prominent evils under which Mexico has writhed and groaned in the agony of despair, since she attempted the experiment of a republican form of government.

These evils may be recapitulated thus:

First. The church, holding its occupancy in the souls of the people to the exclusion of every moral instinct, every virtuous sentiment, every well-grounded hope in the future, either in this world or the next.

Second. The old Spanish leaven of iniquity, as developed by what remained of Gachupin capitalists and traders scattered throughout the country, and who are, with rare exceptions, cordial haters or despisers of the Mexican race, and determined foes to Mexican freedom.

Third. A desperate and unprincipled body of conspirators (generally creoles or half-breeds) against Mexican liberty, of the old Spanish school of intrigue, backed by a thoroughly demoralized band of army officers, without pay or occupation.

Fourth. The foreign debt.

Fifth. Foreign diplomacy, in which the English have held the most commanding position.

Sixth. The high tariff established on foreign importations, the *alcavalas* or duties imposed on goods going into the interior, and other hindrances calculated to obstruct the free course of general business.

Seventh. Smuggling, and the universal system of corruption it engenders for purposes of plunder, under the auspices, principally, of foreign officials and traders.

The foregoing enumeration comprehends the most potent agencies of evil which have so fearfully scourged the Mexican people, and driven them into this last great struggle, which they maintain with all the painful energy and self-sacrificing spirit of despairing and expiring nationality. In view of the narration of accumulated oppressions that is herein given, the most common mind ought to be able to thoroughly comprehend the nature of the struggle now going on in Mexico. As these oppressions have become more and more exacting, onerous, and destructive, the suffering masses of the people have, from time to time, made desperate efforts to relieve themselves. The whole history of the Mexican republic is but the narration of short-lived, spasmodic efforts on the part of the poor and scattered masses to overthrow that powerful combination of church, finance, and trade, that grinds them in the dust. I will not enter into details respecting the past revolutions of Mexico, but be content with particularizing the one now in progress. This particular revolution, it may be said, dates back to the overthrow of the dictator SANTA ANNA, in 1855, when General ALVAREZ, of the head of the liberal forces, proclaimed the *Plan of Ayutla*, and carried on the government of the country until the adoption of the present constitution, under which COMONFORT was elected in 1857.

The following is a synopsis of this constitution, upon which the liberal cause in Mexico is based, and by which the JUAREZ government maintains its authority:

SYNOPSIS OF THE LIBERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1857.

First. The establishment of a constitutional federal government in the place of a military dictatorship.

Second. Freedom and protection to slaves that enter the national territory.

Third. Freedom of religion.

Fourth. Freedom of the press.

Fifth. The nationalization of the $200,000,000 of property held by the clergy, from which, and other sources, the church derives an annual income of not less than $20,000,000.

Sixth. The subordination of the army to the civil power, and the abolition of military and ecclesiastical *fueros*, or special tribunals.

Seventh. A reduction of the tariff, the stoppage of the system of exceptional permits, and the entire abolition of *alcavala* or interior duties; also, the abolition of passports.

Eighth. The negotiation of commercial treaties of the fullest scope and liberal character, particularly with the United States, and including reciprocity of trade on our frontiers.

Ninth. The colonization of Mexico by the full opening of every part of the country to immigration, and the encouragement of foreign enterprise in every branch of industry, particularly in mining and in works of internal improvement.

It must be admitted, by every fair and candid mind, that this constitution strikes at the root of those great evils which have proved so fatal to Mexican prosperity, advancement, and happiness. Then why not wish this suffering people success in their efforts to rise from their misery and degradation, and secure those blessings which, according to our own religious creed and civil declaration, are the inalienable rights of all made in the image of God? Why must the entire civilized world persist in re-echoing the cry of bigoted and heathenish priests, unprincipled foreign diplomats, and soulless, monopolizing foreign capitalists and traders, that the Mexican liberals, comprehending nine tenths of the entire population, are thieving, murdering Indians, barbarously radical in their purposes, entirely ignorant of the principles of liberty, and wholly unfit to enjoy its blessings? The result of all this is, that the leading European Powers and the United States practically sustain the infamous despotism of the Church-Miramon government, as set forth in the Plan of Tacubaya, proclaimed by ZULOAGA at the head of a regiment of soldiers, December, 1857, and of which the following is a synopsis:

SYNOPSIS OF THE PLAN OF TACUBAYA PROCLAIMED BY ZULOAGA.

First. The inviolability of all church property and church revenues, and the re-establishment of former exactions.

Second. The re-establishment of the *fueros*, or special rights of the church and of the army. Under these *fueros*, the military and clergy are responsible only to their own tribunals.

Third. The restoration of the Roman Catholic religion as the sole and exclusive religion of Mexico.

Fourth. The censorship of the press.

Fifth. The maintenance of a high tariff, the restoration of the oppressive system of *alcavala*, or interior duties, and the continuance of special monopolies.

Sixth. The exclusive system with regard to foreign immigration, confining it solely to immigrants from Catholic countries.

Seventh. The overthrow of the constitution of 1857, and the establishment of an irresponsible central dictatorship, subservient solely to the church.

Eighth. If possible, the restoration of a monarchy in Mexico, or the establishment of a European protectorate.

In the synopsis of the liberal constitution of 1857 and the synopsis of the Plan of Tacubaya proclaimed by Zuloaga, December, 1857, as herein set forth, the two parties now struggling for the mastery in Mexico are brought face to face and held up to the view of the world. One is the party of liberty and progress, the other the party of despotism and retrogression, and it is incredible that the Christian and enlightened Powers of earth should sustain the latter, and render the country occupying the geographical centre of the business world, the sport of those despotic and bigoted agencies which these same Christian and enlightened Powers claim to have long since cast out from their own borders. This extraordinary state of things can only be accounted for in the fact that foreign citizens residing in Mexico and their governments believe that the Almighty does not, as yet, desire this country should be allowed to enjoy those christianizing and humanizing influences under which they claim to have been born and raised.

I have thus given some general facts relative to the central and largest city of the Mexican republic, and delineated, fully as these limited pages will admit, those disturbing and destroying influences which ramify from this geographical and political centre to the outlying states. It must be acknowledged that one of these destroying influences has, more particularly since the construction of the republic, materially diminished throughout those states not immediately connected with the capital. In those states, the power of the priesthood, once supreme, has been gradually but steadily dying out, by which process, the power of the city of Mexico in the affairs of the nation has, at last, become so reduced, that wide-spread revolution maintained by those outlying states, is, it would appear, about to triumph over the capital and the neighboring districts which are under its immediate control, and which constitute altogether, what I denominate the PAGAN DISTRICT OF THE *Republic* OF MEXICO. An account of the extent and the characteristics of this Pagan district may be interesting and instructive at the present time. The following is the result of my personal observation:

THE PAGAN DISTRICT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

The section of country comprised within what may be termed the Pagan district of the republic of Mexico, is immediately contiguous to the city of Mexico, and its geographical limits, which are not very extensive, may be as distinctly defined on the maps as those of any state or territory in the republic. An accurate conception of the locality and extent of this district may be formed by taking the map of Mexico and drawing a line from Perote south, to Tehuacan, on the northern side of the state of Oajaca; thence west through the state of Puebla to Amolaque, then circling through the state of Guerrero to Zacualpan, thence north along the eastern limit of the state of Michoacan to Queretaro, thence east through the state of Queretaro to Zimapan, and then down the western boundary of the state of Vera Cruz to Perote.

These boundaries comprehend an area equal to the state of South Carolina, and they enable one to comprehend in how small a space, as compared with the whole country, are concentrated the evils of three hundred and forty years of a false religion and a wicked government. This is the district, originally the most thickly settled by the Spaniards, and the people were, consequently, more degraded and oppressed than those of any other portion of the country. It is the most populous district of the republic, and here also lies the principal wealth of the church, and its power, though disputed in some localities even within the limits named, is, in the main, supreme. The evidence of the rule of the church is to be seen in the state of society, the appearance of the inhabitants, the number and style of the religious edifices, and the performances of priests and people. If a mother has a daughter whom she loves, she keeps the sharpest look-out for her ghostly confessor and priestly guide; and the *Dueña* system of watching the women of old Spain was never carried out so strictly as it is in the central district of Mexico. As a general rule, it may be said that any woman whose virtue or position is worth preserving, is never beyond the reach of a rigid surveillance five minutes out of the twenty-four hours. At the church doors and in the highways, you are pained and disgusted by the sight of the lame, blind, deformed, and diseased, standing, sitting, and lying, some on litters, and demanding charity "for the love of God, your mother's milk, and the Most Holy Virgin Maria."

Funciones solemnes, or other religious performances may be witnessed in the principal towns and cities almost daily. You enter a church and invariably encounter a motley crowd, exhaling unseemly odors, and dispensing small vermin on every side. There is a small sprinkling of well-dressed, well-appearing individuals found in these gatherings; but filth, disease, deformity, brutishness, and abject heathenism are the prevailing characteristics of these assemblages and processions. It is impossible for an individual of respectable education and ordinary delicacy of feeling and moral sense—whether man or woman—to join a crowd in one of their *Pagodas* or *Jos* temples, called churches, without feeling ineffable disgust. No one will deny that these structures, especially in the largest cities, evince an imposing and noble order of architecture; and here all that is good, respectable, and decent, ends. Some of the cathedrals and principal churches have considerable solid gold and silver about their altars; but the prevailing style of. the interior fitting up is of the tinsel, flash, and tawdry order, interspersed with miserable daubs of paintings and images, intending to represent Jesus Christ, saints, virgins, and martyrs. The style of raiment borne by these figures varies from a wisp of cloth, such as is worn by the wild Indians, to that of full military, fancy dress, or Indian costume—a mixture to suit vulgar, vitiated tastes, and minister to superstitious feelings. This is the interior aspect of the Mexican Church at the present day, and it must be said that of late years there has been a slight improvement. Fifty years ago, there was in one of the churches in the city of Mexico an image of the most ghastly and horrid appearance, intended to represent the Saviour. Its eyes were worked by wires, and the large, blood-shot balls were made to roll in the most frightful manner whenever it was thought necessary to inspire terror. This hellish contrivance proved too much for the sensibilities of a portion of the worshippers, especially women *enciente* and of a nervous temperament. Several cases of insanity occurring under its influence, it was finally removed, and now lies, with other rubbish, in an old stone house in the village of Guadaloupa, near the capital.

The strange heathen mummery, a species of Nagualism, that passes in Mexico under the name of Christianity, may be accounted for in the fact that the adventurous, conquering Spaniards, superstitious, fanatical, and vicious themselves, encountered in Mexico a superstitious, fanatical, but comparatively *virtuous* people. The Spaniards found the mythological system of the natives all-powerful, paramount, in fact, to every thing else in their social organization; nevertheless, fathers of the Catholic Church, with the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, made light work of forcing the masses to undergo the slight formal process considered necessary to release them from what they termed the darkness of paganism, and bring them under the benign, purifying, and revivifying influences of Christianity. But now nearly three and a half centuries have passed, and it is found that the Christianity introduced into Mexico by the Spaniards has adapted itself to the paganism of the natives, and obliterated their original virtues by engrafting upon them the worst vices of the conquering race.

In this Pagan district we now find the heart of the Mexican nation wasting away at last in the rot of ages, and yet, in its wild and expiring pulsations, endeavoring to sustain the flow of vice and corruption throughout the land. Here, beginning with the priest, and ending with the political and financial *intrigante*, we find a concentration of corruption and diabolism which will continue to fulfil its mission of evil until blotted from existence by something of a higher, superior nature. With here and there a noble exception, all above the poor laboring Indian, who is but little above the brute, are worse than useless. There are but two classes here. One is composed of honest fools, without energy or individuality enough to make their mark for good or evil; the other class is made up of vicious villains, ready for any species of villainy. All the ignorance, heathenism, vices, and worst propensities of the Spanish and Indian races combined, have settled in the form of a deleterious sediment on that fairest portion of God's creation, the Pagan district of Mexico; and there does not exist among the masses inhabiting this district, except in the women, neither in their religion, their politics, or their social system—in short, there is nothing in their physical or moral construction upon which to rest a hope for improvement or reform. Here the line between the central or Pagan district of Mexico and the outlying states is distinctly drawn. In the latter we find a people less imbued with superstition, less demoralized, and both Indian and mixed races, of a superior nature mentally and physically. These are the liberals of what is called the *republic* of Mexico. They form the liberal party of the country, and in this party the germ of progress, improvement, good government, and usefulness, has taken root. This is the party which, for more than three years, has been continually rising up at all points in the outlying Mexican states, and, actuated by the most thoroughly patriotic motives, they have nobly and courageously met their oppressors at every point, and followed them to their strongholds, determined that the revolution shall never cease until those evil combinations which exist in the Pagan district are completely broken up, and their power to oppress the country is entirely destroyed.

MITLA LETTER.

City of Mexico, *July* 1, 1859.

I have created a sensation, and my arrival in this city was the cause. Rumor had stated in advance that an American was *en route*, clothed with some official character to the Miramon government; and being the only American who had arrived in this city from abroad since the Tacubaya massaçre, and since the recognition of the Juarez government by the American minister, the excitable portion of the community was all agog to obtain a knowledge of the stranger and his business. Some characterized him as an envoy or commissioner, some as the agent of *filibusteros*, and it really seemed as though the more superstitious part of the community regarded him the forerunner of an earthquake. The newly-arrived American citizen had the extreme satisfaction of overhearing, on several occasions, the probability of his arrest discussed; and once, while quietly eating his dinner in a restaurant, he heard it stated that the said American citizen had actually been arrested and imprisoned.

Though every exertion was made to ascertain whether my arrival was likely to endanger the *indepencia de la republica*, and a strict watch was kept on all my movements for several days, no overt act was committed. I entered the tiger's den (*Palacia National*), took out a paper of security, visited churches and other public buildings, mingled with high officiating pagans, military officers, soldiers, and people of every sort and grade, without let or hindrance.

These particulars are given in evidence of the feverish state of the public mind in this city relative to every thing of American name or nature.

All regular correspondence between this city and Vera Cruz having been broken up, and reliable information being scarce, I was plied with all sorts of questions, by natives and foreigners, as to what the American minister and the Juarez government were doing in Vera Cruz, and what might be the ultimate purposes of the United States. The larger portion of those who approached me were favorably inclined to the liberal cause, but I was struck by the universal desire expressed that the American minister had visited the city of Mexico before taking any step in the matter. His recognition of the Juarez government was generally approved, but each one seemed to have a *plan* of his own, and wished the recognition coupled with certain stipulations that would bring to bear certain influences on particular interests. Every one here has a plan of his own. It is the greatest country for *plans* under the sun, owing, perhaps, to something peculiar in the atmosphere.

One prominent individual inquired whether Mr. McLane was a man of fortune. I replied, "I believe he is—why do you ask?"

"I was thinking," said the gentleman, "how he might have been influenced by offers that would have been made to him by interested parties here, had he visited this city before recognizing the Juarez government."

"What kind of offers do you mean?" I demanded.

"Pecuniary offers; offers of a hacienda, a sugar estate, land speculation, city property, or something of that sort," was the reply. "Do you mean to say that this is the course the party here would have adopted with the American minister?" "Of course I do," remarked the gentleman; "this is the way all these things are done here." Too true. According to all the evidence before me, this is the way matters have been arranged with most of the foreign ministers since Mexico became a republic.

It now appears as though the prompt, bold, and unbiased action of the American minister at Vera Cruz, would prove the most successful piece of American diplomacy that has occurred for many years. It is universally acknowledged that, if the policy of the United States, now so decidedly marked out, had been adopted years ago, the present evil state of affairs would never have been known. But it is, doubtless, for the best, that things are as they are. The evils under which Mexico suffers are now fully developed; the principles which actuate the different parties are becoming understood by all the world, and better than all, the shoe pinches now where it never pinched before. Capitalists and mercantile men of every grade, many of them thoroughly unscrupulous, not caring how many throats are cut, how much blood is made to flow, or how rank the corruption, provided they get their cent. per cent., are now wincing under the pressure, and for the first time, their interests are driving them into the belief that law and order should be sustained, and that to live here with any comfort, safety, and profit, pronunciamentos and revolutions must end. The distinct and decided action of the United States minister, so unexpected, because so different from the policy heretofore pursued, has wrought out this great change. Notwithstanding the English and French ministers are, to all appearances, upheld by their respective governments, the *prestige* and influence of these officials are destroyed. From the day the recognition of the constitutional government by the American minister became known in this city, every art and device that the leaders of the church faction, aided by Satan and the English and French ministers, could suggest, were adopted, to nullify its effect, but all to no purpose. The constitutional government and the American minister at Vera Cruz, pay no attention to the desperate and spasmodic efforts of the faction here, but, according to report, are deliberately negotiating a treaty. The stipulations of a treaty, said to have been framed by the Juarez government and the American minister, received in this city a few days since, caused considerable excitement. Though well satisfied that there is no truth in the report, that the constitutional government has stipulated that 6000 armed Americans shall enter the country, it is, nevertheless, interesting to notice the effect of this report.

The bare thought of armed Americans coming into the country strikes the army, clergy, and Spaniards with terror, while it is generally deprecated by the masses of the Mexican people. The latter prefer that American power and influence should extend through peaceful channels, and do not wish to see an American army within their borders, either as friends or foes. But many of the foreign residents, except the Spaniards, desire armed intervention by the United States, and that immediately. Some, under the pressure of a belief in the "manifest destiny" of the United States, rather than any particular desire of their own, advocate the annexation of the whole country to the great northern republic. Others think an armed police, composed of from five to ten thousand Americans, would regulate matters, while others suggest that the United States, England, and France should take the country in hand under a tripartite agreement. Those foreigners who have resided here for a long time do not express the slightest confidence in the ability of either party to maintain order and regenerate Mexico. They came to a country, the fundamental law of which is that the *religion* of the *Mexican Church* only shall be tolerated. They have lived here for years, witnessing the chronic disorders of the country, and at the same time accumulating great interests. Now that the result every intelligent mind might look for sooner or later has arrived, they are ready for any kind of intervention that will save them harmless. This is all very natural, but there is one point in this matter that astonishes me more than all else. It is that these foreigners, who really appear to be intelligent and well disposed, scarcely allude to the Mexican Church as the great cause of evil in Mexico. Though not participating in its paganism, corruption, vice, nonsense, and flummery, daily contact with all this appears to have made them callous to the fact that the chief and too successful effort of this vicious and retrogressive church has been to demoralize the people and crush their liberal aspirations. These foreigners appear to be blind to the existence of the real evil in the first place, and in the next place, they do not take into consideration the fact that, as yet, the liberal party has not had sufficient power to purge the country of this evil. The opinion of these foreigners, therefore, I consider of no great value.

According to present appearances, the Mexican problem is working itself out thoroughly, truthfully, and safely. It is necessary for the United States to sustain the liberal party, make treaties with it which provide for freedom of religion, a moderate tariff and free commercial intercourse, and hold the country to these, without regard to the retrogressive faction, the foreign ministers, or any one else; and in due time, Mexico will be one of the most peaceable, prosperous, and happy countries in the world.

MITLA.

PUBLIC OPINION ON MEXICO.

In the previous numbers of the MEXICAN PAPERS we have given, in exposition of existing public opinion on Mexico, in Europe and the United States,

First. A paper from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, published in Paris.

Second. An article from the *London Saturday Review.*

Third. Extracts from the *Atlantic Monthly*, published in Boston; extracts from the *New York Tribune;* an extract from the speech of the Hon. FRANK BLAIR, and items of correspondence from the *New York Tribune* and the *Philadelphia North American.*

It is curious to note the entire unanimity of statement and sentiment which characterizes these published remarks on Mexico, gathered as they are from localities so widely apart, and so decidedly dissimilar. By this eclectic method, we are enabled to ascertain with accuracy the estimation in which Mexico is held by the leading nations of the world.

We now inquire, is. public opinion on Mexico, as it exists with these nations, correct? It is safe to assume that public opinion is more frequently wrong than right. In the present condition of the world, public opinion is more generally founded upon error than upon truth. Error is violence to nature, hence we have nothing but a succession of contests, both moral and physical, induced by an erroneous and vitiated public opinion. Truth already pervades nature. Truth has nothing to gain in nature. Truth conserves, error destroys. Public opinion quite as frequently proves itself deserving of contempt and execration as it does of confidence and support. When COLUMBUS sailed from Palos on his first voyage to discover a direct and short passage to the East Indies, public opinion did not favor the enterprise, and one of the principal reasons for this disfavor was the belief that the daring navigator would sail so far *down hill* that he never could sail back again. At the present time, it is public opinion that negro slavery can be established in Mexico. Public opinion is just as much in error on this point as it was relative to navigation in the days of COLUMBUS and the particular hazard he was likely to run in taking his course for the west over an unknown ocean. It occasionally occurs that a single individual, as in the case of COLUMBUS, with no counsel except such as he draws from his own deep and truthful inspirations, will encounter the public opinion of the whole world and come off victorious. LOUIS NAPOLEON seized power in defiance of public opinion; he has consolidated his power in spite of public opinion; and in the development of liberal, progressive ideas, he has disappointed and overcome the public opinion of all nations. We believe that the present ruinous political conflict going on in the United States is based on a vitiated public opinion. It is a contest over a hypothetical negro going into hypothetical regions, and constitutes the fancy stock of a swarm of speculating politicians. The existing public opinion on Mexico, to which we have made such extended reference, we conceive to be as erroneous as any of the silly, mischievous, and exploded dogmas of other days. It is worthy of note that this public opinion on Mexico thus set forth is based on *prejudice of race.* This sentiment is remarkably distinct in all the articles and extracts we have published, and it is a curious feature of the times that the *negro*-philanthropists of the United States should be foremost, by word and deed, in proving their hatred of the *Mexican* race.

The causes of the erroneous views that prevail with regard to Mexico, like the evils under which the country suffers, are co-existent with the discovery and conquest of the country by the Spaniards. In the first place, we regard nearly all the ancient history of Mexico extant, as false history;* and it may be said that PRESCOTT, in our day, has burnished up, and given glitter and point to erroneous Mexican history of the olden time. No one has followed up the exaggerations, inconsistencies, and palpable errors of the early Spanish historians more faithfully than PRESCOTT. No one has done more to cloud the perceptions of the present generation, or to throw obstacles in the way of a just comprehension of the Mexican people, their present condition, and the nature of the conflict now raging in that country, than our own favorite historian. This assertion may appear presumptuous, but the evidence will eventually appear. Prescott's well-known honesty, industry, singleness of purpose, combined with his ability as a writer, have given to his "*Conquest of Mexico*"—which is nothing more than a beautiful, high-wrought romance—all the weight of truthful, matter of fact history. Prescott concedes the christianization of Mexico, and his writings are eulogized by Spain. On these premises alone it is safe to conclude that our standard work on the Conquest is unreliable as a history. The author of that work never visited Mexico. Had he personally studied the country of which he treats, it is more than probable that he would have brought forth a very different work. But our historian states that his principal source of information in Mexico was Señor Calderon de la Barca, the first minister sent out by Spain to the Mexican republic. Without intending the least disrespect to that gentleman, we will state that, in our opinion, Mr. Prescott went to the wrong party for material suitable to his work. A *Gachupin* in Mexico may be, in some instances, instrumental in furnishing records, etc., which, in themselves, are facts; but that the author of a historical work of such importance should avail himself of the services of an agent, incompetent by birth and education to act impartially in the matter, must be considered an error in judgment, to say the least. Prescott was of too gentle a nature, too delicate and feminine in his mental composition, to write the true history of Spanish conquest and rule on the American continent. That history, faithfully and truthfully written, would present the most infernal epoch in human affairs that ever took place in the annals of time. In that terrible display of the worst passions of man and its awful results upon innocent and defenceless nations, there is nothing in ancient or modern times that can compare with it. It seems as though the insatiate demons of fire, rapine, and murder were let loose upon this fair portion of creation to torment, devastate, and annihilate without stint or measure. The evil of their ways remained after them, and the blighted remnants of Spanish-

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* We believe LAS CASAS' writings contain more truth than is to be found in all other known Spanish history of Spanish America.

American peoples now struggling in the painful throes of internal suffering, are but endeavoring to cast off the lingering ills fastened upon them by their *Christian* conquerors.

We believe, however, that new light is beginning to break upon this great subject. It is certainly exciting increased attention, and quite recently, we have, to our great surprise and gratification, detected high authorities telling the truth relative to Spanish America, we are almost inclined to believe, inadvertently. An instance at hand is the *London Quarterly Review* for October, which contains a very interesting paper on the *Brazilian Empire.* This paper commences with the following remarks:

> "The early history of South America* must forever stand out pre-eminent in the records of human wickedness. If the discovery of the New World is the great romance of history, its settlement and conquest form one of its deepest tragedies, for the subjugation of some of the finest regions of the globe, by the most advanced and powerful nation of Europe in the fifteenth century, unfortunately fell to the lot of men upon whom the multiplying villainies of nature swarmed in unwonted profusion; and the countries which long formed the transatlantic empire of Spain have, from the day on which she first planted her foot in the New World to the present time, never ceased to present the most painful contrast between the benevolent dispositions of Providence for the happiness of its creatures and the power of man to counteract them."

This is certainly strong, clear, and pointed language, and it fully sustains our publication in one of its fundamental propositions.

We have also another high authority at hand, no less than the *North British Review* for November, which, in an article containing much valuable information, and entitled "*The Spanish-American Republics*," touches upon the great *cause* of evil in those republics. Speaking of the Spanish-American countries, this *Review* says:

> "We find in them the elements of the same antagonistic parties as have long been contending in the older Catholic countries ,of Europe; a priestly party, jealous of all liberty, and striving to bring the community more than ever under

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* European writers generally, in speaking of the South American continent, South America, South American Republics, etc., usually refer to the whole of Spanish America, including Mexico and Central America. They appear to regard the northern boundary of Mexico as the dividing line between North and South America.

the influence of Rome; and, on the other hand, a party struggling for freedom, giving utterance to noble sentiments, that shine the brighter for the dark firmament on which they gleam, and encouraging hope for a better day than those republics have as yet seen."

If these views could but prevail, and be acted upon by enlightened nations, then, indeed, a brighter day would dawn upon these republics. It is encouraging to see the subject treated thus by the high-toned and powerful British publications from which we have quoted. The article in the *North British Review* has considerable to say relative to the struggle between the liberal and church party in Chili, and frequent reference is made to the writings of J. T. LASTARRIA, an able Chilian lawyer and statesman, who has made himself famous in his own country by his powerful advocacy of civil and religious liberty.

There are four powerful causes that combine to create a false public opinion on Mexico and the Spanish-American countries generally. These are—

First. Prejudice of race.

Second. Erroneous history.

Third. The belief that Christianity has ever prevailed in Spanish-America.

Fourth. The church, or retrogressive party, throughout the Spanish-American countries, being too exclusively in possession of the means of manufacturing public opinion.

It will be conceded that the most powerful of these causes which work adversely to a sound and correct public opinion on Spanish America, is *prejudice of race.* The other adverse causes which we have enumerated in this matter are artificial, weak, and transitory, compared with that deep-rooted prejudice which, from its uncharitable, bigoted, and destructive nature, arrays color against color, blood against blood, the strong against the weak, the rich against the poor. Here, indeed, we have an "irrepressible conflict" which rages with such intensity all the world over, that the struggle of politicians in the United States, based on an assumed "irrepressible conflict" between two systems of labor, sinks into insignificance. This element of evil in the public mind, arising from prejudice of race, can only be removed by the more perfect working of what are known as Christian principles, professed by the leading nations of the world, who, like the Jews of old, consider themselves the elect, and, under Providence, the means of working out a happy destiny for the whole human family.

IS MEXICAN NATIONALITY DESTINED TO BE EXTINGUISHED?

Unless some sudden change takes place in the politics of the world, then, indeed, the ethnological, religious, political, and financial forces, which now combine and work together harmoniously for the destruction of the Mexican nation, will do their perfect work, and the evil star that has guided the destinies of Mexico is fore-ordained to prevail, even at no very distant day.

When we review all those malign influences opposed to the prosperity, the happiness, the very existence of Mexico—when we look upon the united front they present, and comprehend their power, consolidated by time, prestige, and union, it would seem as though every effort in opposition to this power of evil is but useless labor for an unavailable end; and as though an inscrutable Providence required the sacrifice of the Spanish-American race, in fulfilment of its own divine purposes. But every truthful mind must, in reality, revolt at such a conviction. The evil passions of man may bring about this dire result, and if so, then those who declare that the principles of common humanity are beginning to regulate the affairs of nations must be considered crack-brained enthusiasts—talkers of sound and not sense—and that the moral tone of all the leading communities in the world is subservient to what appears to be an immediate material interest.

When we review the present condition of the Spanish-American countries generally, with reference to the bearing of this great question upon their various nationalities, the BRAZILIAN EMPIRE stands out from the dark and forbidding picture in bold, colossal, and pleasing proportions. That empire, originally a dependency of Portugal, was, under the rule of that country, reduced to a condition, more abject even than any of the Spanish-American colonies. In no portion of the American continent was the slave-trade carried on so extensively as with Brazil. Early in the present century, and before the severance of the colony from Portugal, it is estimated that fifty thousand blacks were annually shipped from the coast of Africa to Brazil. It is, however, proper to state that, for a long period, this trade, by means of the factory at Lisbon, was in the hands of the English. It may also be said that in no part of the world was the system of slavery attended with greater barbarity than in Brazil. It was considered cheaper in the plantations to use up a slave in five or six years, and buy another, than to take care of him.

The bigoted and intolerant Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century—the curse of Spanish America—was sustained with greater vigor, and more pomp and splendor than in Italy.

The general system on which Portugal ruled her vast dependency created a stupendous commercial, trading, and manufacturing monopoly. The article on the "*Brazilian Empire*," in the *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1860, to which we are indebted for some valuable facts, states: "All intercourse with foreigners was prohibited by the most rigid laws; and if a relaxation of jealousy was occasionally permitted in favor of foreign nations in close alliance with the mother country, the passengers and crews of such ships as were allowed to enter the waters of Rio, or any of the Brazilian ports, were placed under the *surveillance* of a military guard. *The colonists were not allowed to produce any article which the mother country could supply.* Even HUMBOLT, in travelling in South America for purely scientific purposes, was not allowed to enter any portion of the Brazilian empire."

In short, all those prominent evils that have so afflicted Mexico, and, we may say, all other Spanish-American countries, had still deeper root, if such a thing were possible, in the Portuguese dependency of Brazil. But now, how changed!

The abject dependence of Brazil continued down to an early period of the present century, when the world-moving operations of NAPOLEON had the effect to vitalize that country, and create such remarkable changes, both there and in the mother country, that in 1822 the independence of Brazil was suddenly and almost peacefully accomplished. In 1824, the same year that witnessed the formation of the federal constitution of Mexico, the present constitution of Brazil (with the exception of some slight changes recently made) was established. This constitution provides for a hereditary, constitutional monarchy of the most liberal character. Judicial proceedings are public. It provides for the habeas-corpus act as well as the institution of trial by jury. The legislative power is vested in the general assembly. It consists of a senate and chamber of deputies. For the latter, every male citizen of full age, if he possess an income of one hundred *milreis* (fifty dollars), is entitled to vote; but monks and domestic servants are excluded from the franchise. Senators for life are nominated by provincial electors in triple lists, from which three candidates are submitted to the emperor, who selects one; the principles of popular election and crown nomination are thus combined in the constitution of the second estate. Although Brazil does not possess the materials of a territorial peerage, it has constituted a second chamber as an element of vital importance in a popular government. Nobility in Brazil is not hereditary; it is conferred for public services and civil merit alone. There are four titles—those of marquis, count, viscount, and baron. The emperor possesses a legislative suspensive veto only.

The dispensation of justice, although perhaps not perfect, or free from some suspicion of corruption, is conducted with becoming solemnity, and is, on the whole, said to be satisfactory. One of the legal institutions of the country merits particular notice. Courts of conciliation are established throughout the empire; and no cause can be brought into any of the regular courts of law without a certificate from the district officer, that the parties to the suit have previously appeared before him and endeavored to accommodate their differences. We commend this law to our legal reformers, as it must inevitably diminish immensely the amount of unnecessary litigation.

The country is divided into provinces, and there is a legislative assembly for each province. The presidents of the provinces are appointed by the emperor. There is no proscription on account of color, and though legally the blacks are eligible to office, they do not aspire to prominence in public or private life, but rest quiet and contented in the conviction that they occupy a position fully equal to what nature intended it should be.

The religion of the state is Roman Catholic; *but the principle upon which the Roman Catholic Church is based is altogether abjured in Brazil. Religious toleration is one of the fundamental principles of the constitution. All have full and entire liberty to profess and exercise any religion whatever, and to erect religious edifices.* The provincial assemblies have full power to legislate for ecclesiastical objects. On several occasions, the general assembly of Brazil has enacted laws to restrain the interference and curtail the authority of the Pope. At one remarkable crisis a complete separation from Rome was imminent, which would have been hailed, it is believed, with general satisfaction by the people. There cannot be a doubt but that the ties which bind this country to the Papacy are now of the slightest character, and might, with very little provocation, be snapped asunder any day. The religion of the Church of Rome has no root in the land; the priesthood are said to be diminishing year by year, and to have been recently so reduced in number that the government was under the necessity of sending to Italy for a fresh supply to keep up the regular ministrations of the church.

The institution of slavery in Brazil, under the operation of the constitution and public opinion, is in process of gradual and certain extinction. In 1850 measures were adopted for the abolition of the slave-trade, and, in 1853, there was not a single disembarkation. As a proof that the Brazilians have thoroughly abandoned the traffic in human flesh, it may be stated that a slaver taken, in January, 1856, into Bahia and condemned, had touched at five places along the coast previous to her detection, but had not succeeded in selling a single slave.

The condition of the slaves is highly creditable to the country. By the Brazilian law, a slave can, at any time, appear before a magistrate, have his price fixed, and purchase his freedom. There is a system of colonization in progress intended to supply the gradually diminishing quantity of slave labor, and the statesmen of the empire are said to be devoting much time and attention to discover the best means of promoting immigration. Germany, Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira are constantly supplying laborers, attracted by the prospect which Brazil holds out to them, and there seems to be no doubt that the free African population will eventually fully suffice for those occupations in a tropical country for which the white race is necessarily unfitted. And now we come to a point in this matter which we particularly recommend to the attention of the abolitionists of the United States, and their brethren, the apostles of the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine.

For more than three hundred years, the entire agricultural and manufacturing interests of Brazil, from north to south, from east to west, have been based on slave labor. The institution of slavery has entered more thoroughly into the industrial system of Brazil than it has into that of the United States. Natural causes favor the system of slave labor in Brazil more than they do in the United States, and though the number of slaves in the former country reaches 3,000,000, the institution of slavery is steadily and surely coming to an end in that empire. And yet, though freedom of speech is allowed, and the press is free, they never had an anti-slavery society in Brazil, nor an anti-slavery journal. They never had any abolition agitators like WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, etc., nor anti-slavery preachers like the Rev's CHEEVER and BEECHER, nor politicians of the WM. H. SEWARD stamp, to create sectional parties, and inaugurate a bloody, fratricidal strife. The "irrepressible conflict" doctrine was never known in Brazil, and yet the institution of slavery in that country is peacefully yielding to the system of free labor, in obedience to natural law, and the powerful, undivided pressure of public opinion.

And thus it would have been in the United States, but for that development of practical infidelity which, from the want of faith, arrogates to itself the attributes of deity, and though claiming to act under the higher law, virtually sets the higher law at defiance by attempting to take it into its own hands.

The Emperor of Brazil is a noble representative of the house of Braganza, and under the constitution which he faithfully administers, the country is making prodigious strides in intellectual and material advancement. It is true that, as yet, the standard of Brazilian morality is not of the highest order, but the country is in a transition state. Education, intelligence, and civilization are steadily spreading over the land. The public credit is almost equal to that of the most respectable European governments, and a country of which, the first year or two of its independence, the currency consisted chiefly of copper and the notes of an insolvent bank, may now present itself as a borrower in the capitals of any of the moneyed states of Europe, with the assurance of a favorable reception.

The population is steadily increasing. A large and most valuable trade has sprung up; and there is scarcely a civilized country that does not gladly exchange its manufactures and commodities for the productions of Brazil. The commerce of the country rather more than doubles every ten years. Herewith is a table of the commercial exchanges for the past ten years:

	Imports.	Exports.	Total Commercial Exchanges.
1849–0	$29,582,500	$27,516,000	$57,341,000
1850–1	38,459,000	33,890,000	72,349,000
1851–2	46,430,000	33,320,000	79,750,000
1852–3	43,666,000	36,822,000	80,488,000
1853–4	42,919,000	38,421,000	81,340,000
1854–5	42,585,000	45,349,000	87,934,000
1855–6	44,200,300	47,216,000	91,476,300
1856–7	62,613,000	57,273,000	119,886,000
1857–8	65,131,500	49,099,500	114,131,000
1858–9	63,634,000	53,371,000	117,025,000

The population of the Brazilian empire is 8,677,800, and it contains within its borders 2,973,406 square miles. An estimate of the colossal proportions of this empire can only be formed by comparing it with some of the great countries of the earth. European Russia has an area of 2,142,504 square miles, and the remainder of Europe occupies 1,687,626. The United States possess an area of 2,990,166 square miles. Brazil, therefore, has considerably more territory than European Russia, nearly double that of the remainder of Europe, and but little less than the entire American Union.

Here, then, we have a vast and magnificent region, lavishly endowed by nature, sparsely inhabited at present, it is true, yet making wonderful progress in all that constitutes national greatness and power.

If, in giving this succinct outline of the Brazilian empire, we have digressed from our principal theme, it is to institute a comparison between that country and Mexico; and to hold up the former in all its magnificent proportions and rapid advancement, as an interesting and instructive study for our own people, and in opposition to the despicable idea, so prevalent, that something like a curse rests upon the Spanish-American race on this continent, and that the Anglo-Saxon race, under Providence, is to be the instrument for the execution of this curse, by sweeping those despised nationalities from the face of the earth. This idea that God hates any portion of the human family on account of color, race, inferiority, or misfortune, is a Satanic sentiment that has been incorporated into the political creed, and we might almost say, the religious faith of the American nation, North as well as South. Under this idea, national crimes are committed sufficient to sink us as a nation, and it is well to inquire whether we are not now absolutely sinking by reason of its evil influence and weight.

Forty years ago, the masses of the Bazilian people were in that abject condition but little above the brute. Now, these same masses are making such rapid progress in all that tends to national greatness, that in the ordinary course of events, they will, at no very remote period, command the admiration and respect of the most enlightened peoples, and rank among the leading Powers of the world.

Brazil started on her new political career the same year as Mexico. The population of the former country is but little more than that of the latter, and the characteristics of race in both countries are similar. In climate and physical features there is not sufficient difference between Brazil and Mexico, to create any marked dissimilarity of character in the two nations. Brazil started with a constitutional monarchy: Mexico adopted the democratic form of government. We do not propose to argue the point as to which of these two forms of government is the best for the Spanish-American people. At the present moment, we wish to point out the great fact, the most important fact of all, namely, that the foundation of the government of Brazil was *civil and religious liberty*, while that of Mexico was *civil and religious despotism* of the most degrading and despotic character. Now compare the condition of the two countries. One affords an astonishing, stupendous example of progress: the other lies prostrate, wretched, and bleeding, with scarcely strength to profit by the victory over the enemies of her freedom, which has recently been so gloriously won. Can any one be blind to the real cause of the immense difference that now exists between Mexico and Brazil? We journeyed, some years ago, along the Rhone where it divides Switzerland from Savoy. Riding on the banquette of the diligence, we noticed that on the Swiss side of the river, the people, houses, grounds, etc., looked flourishing, neat, and comfortable; while on the Savoy side, every thing had a slovenly, rack-and-ruin appearance. In our wonder that so much difference could exist in a region divided by a stream which, in places, seemed but a few yards in width, we inquired the reason of the conductor. "*Voila le padre*," said the conductor, with a Frenchman's shrug, and significantly pointing to an individual in clerical hat and raiment walking on the *Savoy* side of the river. This was the reply we got; and it was quite sufficient. Switzerland was in the enjoyment of freedom in religion, while Savoy groaned under priestly despotism. Brazil is the only country in Spanish America whose fundamental law has sustained religious toleration, and she is the only bright example of advancement among those degenerated and unhappy nations.

"*Voila le padre*," we say, when we point out the first and great cause of difference between Brazil and Mexico.

The history of Brazil is full of instruction, especially to the statesman. The American people, particularly in the North, are accustomed to vaunt their rapid advancement as something miraculous in the history of nations; and to attribute such advancement to the fact that the forefathers, taken in hand by a *special* Providence, and placed on these shores, were of a higher order in a religious and political point of view than any class of men that ever sought to better their fortunes by migrating from one land to another. We do not dispute this assumption, but we point to the fact that now, while our own glorious confederacy, founded by our own worshipped forefathers, is crumbling and falling—rocking, reeling, and yielding in all its towering, giant strength to ceaseless and innumerable fanatical blows from fanatical pigmies, the immediate descendants of those same nation-creating forefathers—while this work of national destruction is going on at a fearful rate, we see looming up on the southern half of this continent a colossal empire, founded on a nationality we denounce and despise, but whose evident prosperity and rapid growth equal, if they do not surpass our own, when we consider the defective elements which composed Brazilian nationality when the experiment of a new government was commenced. How is it that this nationality has so suddenly and so immensely improved? In reply to this question, we give the words of SOUTHEY, who, in his history, says, "Long left to chance, it is by individual industry and enterprise, and by *the operation of the common laws of nature and society*, that this empire has risen and flourished, extensive as it is, and mighty as it must one day become; for its first colonists were ignoble men, carrying on an obscure warfare, the consequences of which have been greater and will be more durable than those produced by the conquests of ALEXANDER and CHARLEMAGNE."

Deny it as we will, we cannot obliterate, no, we cannot mitigate the fact that though our Declaration of Independence is a perfect declaration of human rights, our *written fundamental law* is, in one respect, against the "operation of the common laws of nature and society," and under the pretence of remedying the great national evil that has grown out of that error in our written fundamental law, we do a still greater wrong in this more enlightened age, by deliberately ignoring the "*operation of the common laws of nature and society*," and force an unnatural result, which brings dissolution, disorder, and internecine wars, terminating at last in national ruin. Who can tell what race, what nation, what country will be the leading Power on this continent half a century hence?

But to return more directly to the question of Mexican nationality. The liberals have just gained a complete victory over the forces of the church, and the constitutional government is now located in the capital of the republic. This victory comes none too soon. It improves the condition of affairs vastly, but a new season of trial is now before those patriotic Mexicans, whose noble and self-sacrificing struggles have brought about the present happy result. It remains to be seen whether the liberals will be united among themselves, and whether foreign claimants will show any mercy. Let Mexico now be true to herself, and there is reason to hope that all will be well.

We have remarked upon the character of the foreign diplomacy which has heretofore prevailed in Mexico. England has carefully nursed those evils which have already come so near destroying Mexican nationality. England has pursued this course in spite of irrefragable evidence that in so doing she was completely annihilating her Mexican interests.

The exports to Vera Cruz of British produce and manufactures were, in 1856, £887,862; 1857, £567,311; 1858, £411,831. We have not the figures for 1859 and 1860, but we understand that the amount has dwindled down to an exceedingly low point. In addition to this, there has been little or no interest paid on the debts due to the English, for the past six years; and, as if to cap the climax, and expose the folly of English policy in Mexico, about $1,000,000, interest money due to English claimants, which had accumulated in the city of Mexico, was, on the 19th day of November, 1860, by force of arms, burglariously abstracted from the vaults of the English legation, by the very government that England had so persistently and so powerfully sustained. The active partisanship of Mr. Otway, late English minister to Mexico, in sustaining the church faction, is now a matter of history. It would appear that Mr. Otway was recalled the latter part of 1859, on account of the honest indignation manifested at his course by the English residents of Mexico, engaged in legitimate business. As a curious instance of the thoroughly besotted condition of the public mind in England, relative to Mexican affairs, we give the following:

From the London Times.

"A TESTIMONIAL TO MINISTER OTWAY.

"On the recent arrival in London of Mr. Otway, her Majesty's late minister plenipotentiary in Mexico, the Mexican-British bondholders presented him with a valuable and elegant testimonial expressive of their gratitude for the assistance they had received from him while fulfilling his official duties in Mexico. The testimonial consists of a massive silver candelabrum of ten lights, the stem bearing the lights arising from a triangular base, upon which are allegorical figures representing the services rendered by Mr. Otway under the impersonation of Britannia protecting commerce. The figure of Mexico occupies a prominent position, and by her side justice holds a sword and scales. A shield ornamented at the side with fruit indigenous to Mexico, bears in raised silver letters the inscription: 'Presented by the Mexican British Convention Bondholders to Loftus Charles Otway, Esq., C. B., Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary in Mexico, as a token of respect and gratitude for his able support of their rights.' This beautiful candelabrum has been executed by Messrs. Hunt & Roskell, No. 156 New-Bond street."

This is a new way for British capitalists to testify their love for one of their official representatives abroad, who was so active and efficient in bringing ruin upon their pecuniary interests. We have to add, in addition to the above, that the English government rewarded their late minister with diplomatic promotion on the continent.

The policy that England has pursued toward Mexico is inexplicable, except in the fact that a few interested individuals, official and private, control the action of the English government, and public opinion in England, on Mexican affairs, to the total destruction of the general and legitimate

English interests in that country. We can hardly expect any very sudden or material change in the policy of England toward Mexico. It is said that an English fleet will soon appear in the waters of the Gulf, in order to enforce redress of what England terms *grievances.* What attitude she will assume toward the victorious constitutional government of Mexico, remains to be seen.

We note the following in the money article of the London *Economist*, Dec. 22d, 1860:

> " Mexican bonds have been in rather greater demand to-day, because it is regarded as impossible that the British government can, with any regard to its own dignity, suffer such an outrage to be perpetrated with impunity, as the forcibly breaking open, by order of the government (if the faction in possession of the city of Mexico can be called a government), of the chest containing $1,000,000 belonging to the bondholders, which was deposited for safety with the British minister, and on which he had fixed his seal."

"*Outrage!*" says the *Economist.* If England should give Mexico a clean receipt in full of all demands, it would scarcely compensate for the outrages she has committed against Mexico during the past three years. The robbery by MIRAMON of the $1,000,000 belonging to English bondholders, is not more disgraceful than the action of the British government in robbing the treasury of the constitutional government on the Pacific coast, by means of British ships-of-war, whose principal mission in that quarter appears to be to facilitate and enforce the contraband trade.

The recent diplomatic action of France and Spain in Mexico has been scarcely less disastrous to the latter country than has that of England. We are inclined to believe that this ruinous policy of European Powers in Mexico, except Spain, has, in the main, been based on false information from sources deemed reliable. We conceive this to be the case, more particularly with France; for, considering the independent position in which she stands relative to the Mexican republic, it is difficult to imagine what interest the practical and enlightened statesman who administers the government of the French empire with so much wisdom and success, can have in supporting a policy in Mexico totally opposed to that which he so powerfully sustains in Italy.

It cannot be said, however, that the present attitude of the European Powers toward Mexico is favorable to the existence of Mexican nationality. But we consider this attitude of the European Powers less hazardous to Mexican nationality than the position our own country appears to be assuming toward the neighboring republic, in consequence of the disastrous political events that have recently occurred within its own borders. The indications are that the North and South intend to continue the struggle over the hypothetical negro in Mexico—to re-enact the bloody Kansas sham on a large scale on our southern borders. In view of what crazy fanatics and unprincipled politicians have already accomplished, who can say that they will not be successful in this their last grand scheme? We shall follow up this subject in the next number of the MEXICAN PAPERS.

VICTORY!

We have the extreme satisfaction of announcing in the present number of the MEXICAN PAPERS, the complete and glorious triumph of the liberals in Mexico. Our advices dated city of Mexico, Dec. 28, 1860, state that the decisive action between the liberal forces under General GONZALES ORTEGA, and the church army commanded by MIRAMON, the former numbering 12,000 men with 80 pieces of artillery, the latter 8,000 men with 40 pieces of artillery, took place on the 22d of December, 1860, on the heights of *San Miguel Calpulalpan*. The battle, which was very bloody, lasted three hours. MIRAMON was completely routed, and, with his generals, fled to the city of Mexico, escaping only with their lives by means of the fleetness of their horses. The liberals captured 4,000 prisoners, all the artillery, and the baggage of the enemy.

Great confusion existed in the city of Mexico on the arrival of the defeated MIRAMON and his officers. A part of the church army remaining in the capital wished to defend it to the last, but as they numbered but 2,500 men, and the enemy, some 12,000 strong, being close at hand, they demanded that a capitulation should be entered into, if the liberals would grant them their lives. This proposition met with favor, and at the request of MIRAMON, the Spanish and French ministers, with General BERRIOZABEL and General AYESTARAN left in the afternoon to meet General ORTEGA, and negotiate with him relative to the capitulation of the capital.

Mr. LA REINTRIE, the American *chargé d'affaires*, was also invited to accompany them, but Mr. LA REINTRIE, to his honor let it be said, refused to have any thing to do with the matter of making terms for a murderous band of villains who have been plundering the country and butchering the people for the past three years.

The commissioners reached *Tepeje del Rio*, where General ORTEGA was quartered, about midnight. To their proposition for a capitulation, etc., ORTEGA replied that he should enter into no arrangement with the hostile party, and they must surrender unconditionally or *fight it out.* When the commissioner brought back this determined and energetic reply, the consternation of MIRAMON and his adherents was excessive. Maddened by their defeat and wild with fear, this wretched band of outlaws, attended by about a thousand men, made hasty preparations for flight. On departing from the city they robbed wherever they could lay their hands on any thing of value. They took what remained of the English bondholders' money, some $150,000, each robber going in pell-mell to grab the largest share, and after seizing all they could conveniently, the party fled in great confusion to parts unknown.

Thus fell MIRAMON, the vaunted hero and the best-beloved son of the Mexican church—he whom the English and French have sustained and eulogized as "a descendant of two of the finest races in Europe—a general and statesman of noble and brilliant qualities." How ungrateful in MIRAMON to rob his friends, the English, of their last dollar in Mexico !

The defeated party left the city on the evening of the 24th, and the next day it was occupied by the liberal army, to the intense joy of the people, always excepting the ecclesiastics. Bells were rung all day, and in the evening there was a universal illumination.

General ORTEGA immediately issued decrees relating to public order and the security of property.

The first decree was that any one caught in the act of stealing should be immediately executed, in consequence of which, the next day, two soldiers and three *leperos* taken in the act, were hung in the public Plaza. This decided, severe treatment had the desired effect, and the city was at once orderly and secure.

The clergy endeavored to instigate opposition to the new order of things, and kept the doors of the churches closed. But finding no one paid any particular attention to their doings, they finally sent a deputation to General ORTEGA to inquire if he wished the churches opened. ORTEGA coolly replied that it was a matter of indifference to him—they could consult their own interest in that respect.

The victorious general immediately requested President JUAREZ and his cabinet to remove from Vera Cruz to the capital and assume the reins of government.

Thus the cause of Mexican freedom has triumphed, untrammelled by any compromise with bigotry and despotism. This glorious end has been attained without disorder, without vengeance, and without crime. After three hundred and forty years of civil and religious oppression, a denounced and despised race is disenthralled. *A nation has been born to Liberty!*

This omnipotent fact will teach a salutary lesson to those who, in this country particularly, have raised their infidel voice in opposition to the manifest designs of the Almighty!

All Communications for the MEXICAN PAPERS, must be addressed to

EDWARD E. DUNBAR,
No. 35 William Street, N. Y.

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THE
MEXICAN PAPERS,

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY OF THE RISE AND DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA,

WITH REFERENCE TO THE FUTURE OF MEXICO.

BY

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1861,

By EDWARD E. DUNBAR,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Our experience in the publication of the Mexican Papers has been eminently instructive. In Mexico, the numbers already issued have been translated into Spanish, and they appear to meet with much favor there.

The following is an extract from a letter written by a prominent Mexican residing in Vera Cruz, to a gentleman in this city, relative to the publication :

> "Mr. Dunbar's writings on the affairs of Mexico are certainly the ablest that have appeared, and they are highly valued here. The Mexican Papers reveal some startling points even to our own people, and this is an example how an intelligent foreigner can sometimes tell a people important truths which they do not learn among themselves.
>
> "The representation Mr. Dunbar makes of existing erroneous public opinion abroad on Mexico, his vivid picture of the evil rule of the priesthood, and his clear and fixed convictions that Mexico never will be appreciated abroad or have peace and prosperity at home until the power of that priesthood is completely destroyed, are all living truths which come home to us here, and which must be followed up and acted upon by the whole nation, with no thought of compromise or grounding arms until this end is gained."

In this country we discover that the facts and sentiments contained in the Mexican Papers are entirely opposed to favorite theories, pre-conceived opinions, and deep-rooted prejudices respecting the great questions of which they treat. We also discover that the publication does not pander to the wild political delusion of the masses—a delusion that has caused 30,000,000 of people to stand up before the world, and in the height of their material and political prosperity, deliberately commit national suicide.

But we have evidence that the Mexican Papers are exciting much thought, and we take great encouragement in the fact that a goodly number of "men of mind," into whose hands the publication has fallen, are enthusiastic in its support ; and it is anything but discouraging to meet with considerable ill will of a bilious cast, and of that peculiar bigoted and despotic character which, if it had the power, would crush out everything opposed to its own narrow views and sentiments. This has been evinced principally by those who, while opposed to freedom in Mexico, pretend to live in that fear of slavery in this country which the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine inculcates.

We have been taken roundly to task by friends and acquaintances—some of whom, doubtless, have our good at heart—for espousing the cause of the Liberals of Mexico, whom they characterize as bands of murdering, plundering, half-civilized Indians; and for running the Mexican question into American politics, by which we were led to come out in opposition to the republican view of the *status* of slavery, and to foreshadow trouble to the country in the event of the election of Mr. LINCOLN as President.

Now, we may be permitted to ask, How stands *Mexico?* The factious church government in the capital has most ignominiously fallen; the liberal, constitutional government in glorious and orderly triumph occupies its place, and tranquillity is beginning to prevail. How stands *our* country—that effulgent galaxy of sovereign States, which, but a few short months ago, shone so resplendent in the political firmament? Lost! Lost!! Torn from their high estate and hurled into eternal darkness by the Demon of Discord. The light of constitutional liberty fades in the land of WASHINGTON and dawns in the mystic realms of the Aztec.

Having obtained, by personal observation and experience, what we believe to be a correct insight into the Mexican question, and its important bearing upon the politics of the United States, we could not remain quiet and see the deliberately fabricated statements and falsifications of truth, seized upon by our politicians, and used in such a way as to mangle and torture the whole subject to the ruin of the country. Seeing clearly, as we conceived, the right and the wrong in this matter, and impressed to a painful degree that the wrong was being pursued, we gave vent to our statements in strong and unequivocal language, and now, though the progress of events day by day convinces us that our position is correct, we stand awe-struck at the magnitude of the revolutionary drama now passing before us, and we feel more incompetent than ever to grapple with those questions of surpassing import to mankind, which are involved in the recent stupendous political developments in the northern portion of this continent. But we are constrained to continue to contribute our mite of information, in the sincere hope that it may be productive, in some degree, of public good.

The following is an extract from a letter we received from a distinguished and highly respected source, dated Washington, Jan. 20th, 1861 :

> "In Number 4, you do not speak of our Federal Constitution as a 'compact with hell,' but you say, '*our fundamental written law* is, in one respect, against the operation of the common law of nations and of society, and under the pretence of remedying the great national evil that has grown out of that error in our written fundamental law, we do a still greater wrong in this more enlightened age by deliberately ignoring the operation of the common laws of nature and society, and force an unnatural result which brings dissolution, disorder, and internecine wars, terminating at last in national ruin.'
>
> "These remarks have opened up a new train of thought in my mind, but I do not arrive at the clear comprehension of the matter which you, doubtless, entertain. Will you explain ? The general tenor of your pamphlets is thoroughly condemnatory of the abolitionist proper, and you show no favor to either of the great political parties of the day. It is evident that you are strongly opposed to slavery, and yet you repudiate the Republican platform. You consider the Constitution defective, and yet you appear to be a strong Union man under its provisions. If it is not asking too much, I would like to know what party you sympathized with at the last Presidential election, and what line of policy you advocate in the great crisis now upon the country.
>
> "The great amount of new and valuable information you have given on Mexican matters, has excited my interest to know what you have in reserve relative to some of the corollary political points not fully explained, if it is not too foreign to the main subject."

It is utterly impossible to do justice to the topics under discussion in the limited pages of this series of papers. Upon some points we have spoken fully and decidedly, while others, which our correspondent terms "corollary political points," have been brought forward without explanation. We can also comprehend that those who read the MEXICAN PAPERS are puzzled to know where to place us politically, as political matters go in these days. Our position is isolated, we confess, but if there is any one source of comfort open to us in the midst of prevailing anxiety, doubt and depression, it is in the fact that we stand aloof from what we term the great political delusion of the day, and that we have no claim to the sympathy and support of the prevailing political forces which have destroyed the prestige, power, and glory of our common country.

It has been our intention to enlarge somewhat on the most important political topics co-relatively brought up in the preceding papers, before the close of the series. To explain, therefore, to those who feel interested, as well as to answer such inquiries as those contained in the letter from Washington, we propose to set forth what we term THE RISE AND DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA. It has also been our intention to touch upon this subject, with reference to slavery in Mexico, before the close of the first series of the MEXICAN PAPERS. But owing to the exigencies that have recently risen, requiring all the information on the subject that can be brought forward, we are induced to devote more space to this object than was originally intended.

In view of the fact that the politics of the country now turn upon the question, *Can slavery be carried into Mexico?* we consider the following remarks pertinent to this publication.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

ORIGIN OF SLAVERY.

In ancient days, the nations of the earth were accustomed to designate each other under the name and style of *heathen.* This practice has come down to us unimpaired in no very great degree. Christian nations classify the Chinese as pagans, while the Chinese apply the term, barbaric, to the surrounding world. The Christians call the Mohammedans barbarians, and the Mohammedans consider Christians no better than dogs. The Roman Catholics denounce the Protestants as heretics, who are something worse than heathen, and the Protestants charge the Roman Catholics with being heathen-worshippers of a bad Woman in Scarlet. The inhabitants of the United States north, denounce the inhabitants of the United States south as barbarians, and the inhabitants of the United States south, charge back, that the inhabitants of the United States north are the mud-sills of society ; and not being able to agree about the matter, they break the Federal bonds, separate, and fight. Then, we have the Mormons, who act on the belief that they are the newest and choicest order of saints, culled from the heathenish world around.

The prejudice and superstition of ancient days, and upon which all this peculiar difference of opinion among nations and peoples is founded, appear to hold good now. All the difference we can discover, is, some change in the modes and forms under which they are exhibited.

We believe the idea of human slavery originated in that old sentiment—old as creation—"*might makes right*"—and which is practically developed among men under those special and elaborate commands, promises, blessings and curses found in the sacred books of all the ancient nations.

Under the Mosaic law, the Jews were made to understand that the lands of the heathen and the heathen round about, should be given unto them as a possession—an inheritance forever.

We find in Deuteronomy, chapter vi., verses 10 and 11:

> "10. And it shall be, when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land which he sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob, to give thee great and goodly cities which thou buildest not,
>
> "11. And houses full of all good things which thou fillest not, and wells digged, which thou diggest not, vineyards and olive trees which thou plantest not; when thou shalt have eaten and be full."

Again, chapter vii., verses 1 and 2:

> "1. When the Lord thy God shall bring thee unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou:
>
> "2. And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee; thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them."

And in Leviticus, chapter xxv., verses 44, 45 and 46:

> "44. Both thy bondmen and bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you: of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.
>
> "45. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession.
>
> "46. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen forever, but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over the other with rigor."

We believe the foregoing verses, selected promiscuously, represent clearly and accurately one of the fundamental principles of the religious and civil code of the Jews, and, so far as we have been able to ascertain, the right to conquer and enslave the heathen, or, *your enemies*, as some have interpreted the passages of this nature, is proclaimed in the sacred writings of all the ancient nations; and it is quite certain that from time immemorial, nations acting upon the principle thus inculcated, have gone forth conquering and enslaving.

Human slavery is sustained by some as an institution of Divine origin, and the Bible is brought forward in evidence. It is denounced by others as a sin and a crime, and the Bible is given as authority. The Christian Church in the United States is widely and bitterly divided on this question. But we have not thus brought forward the subject for the purpose of remarking upon it from a religious stand-point. We simply desire to state what we conceive to be the origin of those great moving principles which have led man to enslave his fellow man, from the earliest ages to the present day, without presuming to remark upon the right or wrong of those principles as they were originally enunciated. This is a field of discussion we would go a good ways round to avoid, rather than enter upon.

Our personal views of human slavery were distinctly stated in the first number of the Mexican Papers. In coming to the conclusion that it is not right for man to own property in man, our natural sympathies were guided by that simple rule which has as much religion in it as our comprehension can master: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them." If, under this rule, involuntary servitude, or that system of human slavery which gives man property in man is right, then there is no God, no justice, no reality in anything.

In entertaining this opinion on the principle of human slavery, we trust that we shall be allowed to speak of the Federal Constitution of the United States in reasonable and just terms, without being required to denounce it as a "compact with hell," or to stigmatize negro slavery in the South as the "sum of all villainies," and our fellow-citizen slave-owners as "barbarians, thieves, cut-throats, the vilest of the vile," etc., etc. Here is where we part company with the philanthropic fanatics and abolitionists of every grade, and in pursuing a course directly opposed to these delirious factions, we have never obtained any new light on the subject that has inclined us to join the opposite extreme, and sustain the institution of slavery as of divine origin, wise, beneficent, and just. Here we part company with the Calhoun school. We particularly desire to call public attention to this point in the great political highway, where we diverge from the Garrison school and from the Calhoun school, for it is the point where, some thirty years ago, reason lost her sway, and the people of the United States started off on a course of education of a revolutionary nature in its very inception, and which has, at last, borne its revolutionary fruit in the disruption of the confederacy, and the ruin of the nation as a unity. Practically, the issue between the North and South which is now upon the country, has been forced onward to its present ruinous point, mainly under the auspices of abolitionism, and as yet, there is no evidence of the existence of an intermediate party, based on common-sense principles, which can make its voice heard amid the general uproar, in opposition the revolutionary masses who stand glaring fiercely at each other, and ready to deluge the land with blood.

THE NEW ERA OF SLAVERY.

It may be said that the discovery of the western coast of Africa, in the fifteenth century, by the Portuguese, created a new era in human slavery, inasmuch as the slavery resulting from Portuguese discoveries was confined to the African negro, and had its basis on commerce; whereas, the ancient system of slavery, as practised by European and Asiatic nations, originated in national wars, which gave captives promiscuously among the nations, said captives being treated as property under the prevailing law. There are vague accounts of Norman discoveries in Africa as early as the first part of the fourteenth century, but until the middle of the fifteenth century, Africa, with the exception of a narrow strip of country bordering on the Mediterranean, was, in fact, as much of a sealed book to Europe as the American continent. The year 1441 found Henry, Prince of Portugal, devoting his means and energies to voyages of discovery along the western coast of Africa. One of the first voyages made at this time, a short distance down the coast, under the command of ANTONIO GONÇALVEZ, resulted in the capture of some Azeneghi Moors. In 1442 these Moors told Prince HENRY that if he would send them back to their country, they would return negro slaves as a ransom. The prince therefore ordered GONÇALVEZ to take back three Moors and exchange them for as many negroes as he could get—the prince, as BARROS states, insisting as the foundation of the matter, that if GONÇALVEZ should not be able to obtain so many negroes (as had been mentioned) in exchange for the three Moors, yet that he should take them; *for, whatever number he should get, he would gain souls, because they (the negroes) might be converted to the faith, which could not be managed with the Moors.* GONÇALVEZ returned with ten negroes, which, it would appear, were the first that had been seen in Portugal, as they excited general wonder.

The result of these voyages of GONÇALVEZ was to start other and more formidable maritime expeditions down the African coast. In 1444, one of these expeditions fitted out at Lagos, attacked the islands of Nar and Tider, and captured two hundred black slaves, whom they carried back to Portugal and distributed, after allowing Prince HENRY his royal fifth.

The *Chronicle* of AZURARA gives an account of the distribution of these slaves, and from that account we make the following extract:

> "While they were placing in one part the children that saw their parents in another, the children sprang up perseveringly and fled to them; the mothers inclosed their children in their arms, and threw themselves with them on the ground, receiving wounds with little pity for their own flesh, so that their offspring might not be torn from them! And so, with labor and difficulty, they concluded the partition, for, besides the trouble they had with the captives, the plain was full of people, as well of the place as of the villages and neighborhood around, who at that day gave rest to their hands, the mainstay of their livelihood, only to see this novelty. And as they looked upon these things, some deploring, some reasoning upon them, they made such a riotous noise as greatly to disturb those who had the management of the distribution. The

Infante was there, upon a powerful horse, accompanied by his people, looking out his share, but as a man who, for his part, did not care for gain; for, of the forty-six souls which fell to his fifth, he speedily made his choice, *as all his principal riches were in his contentment, considering with great delight the salvation of those souls which before were lost.*"

Thus, favored by special blessings, dispensations and indulgences from the pope, and under the powerful patronage of HENRY, Prince of Portugal, the African slave trade commenced. The bodies of the heathen were allotted to their Christian captors, their souls to God, and thus the account with heaven was balanced.

By slow degrees, the Portuguese prosecuted their discoveries along the African coast until 1493, when the southernmost point (the Cape of Good Hope) was doubled by BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ. Commercial enterprise kept pace with these discoveries, and the Portuguese vessels returned home with an assortment of African products, of which slaves, gold dust, ivory, skins, etc. formed the principal part. The slaves were disposed of principally to grandees and men of wealth in Portugal and Spain. Those countries were fully stocked with a laboring population, and the introduction of negro slave labor, to any great extent, would have been productive of distress and revolution. The demand for negro slaves from Africa was, therefore, limited, as they only served to vary and swell the train of attendants that belonged to the wealth, fashion, and grandeur of those days. It was reserved for the New World to give a new and extended impulse to the African slave trade.

THE INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

The discovery of the New World by COLUMBUS, in 1492, cast into the shade the maritime enterprise of the Portuguese, which had been prosecuted with great perseverance and daring on the western coast of Africa, during the previous half century. A new continent rose up before the world's narrow vision, and nearly all the nations of Europe prepared to avail themselves of this new and grand field of aggrandizement. Spain, at this time, was the most advanced country on the continent of Europe. The Spaniards took the lead in the New World, and the first benefits of the discovery and the greater extent of territory fell to them. The West India islands were first explored and conquered, and, acting on the old idea of taking possession of the heathen as an inheritance, the natives with which these islands swarmed were at once seized upon as slaves and divided out among the colonizing Christians in *encomiendas* and *repartimientos*. The island of St. Domingo was discovered by COLUMBUS on his first voyage, 1492. The Licentiate ZUAZO gives the number of natives at that time as 1,130,000. Others estimate it much higher. The enumeration by the Governor, OVANDO, in 1508, represents 70,000 Indians, and when DIEGO COLUMBUS assumed the government of the island they were reduced to 40,000. In 1514, ALBUQUERQUE, a new *repartidor*, appointed by Spain, arrived to make a repartition of the Indians, and found but 13,000 remaining.

COLUMBUS, in his account of the discovery of the island of Hispaniola, thus speaks of the aborigines: "They are a loving, uncovetous people, so docile in all things, that I assure your highnesses I believe in all the world there is not a better people or a better country: they love their neighbors as themselves, and they have the sweetest and the gentlest way of talking in the world, and always with a smile."

As early as 1530, the principal West India islands, especially St. Domingo and Cuba, were so nearly depopulated that Indian slaves were brought from the main land to supply in part the deficiency. The Pearl Coast, now known as Venezuela, was horribly ravaged by the Spaniards in order to obtain these slaves. This supply gave out in a few years. In 1537, only one hundred and thirty Indian slaves, native and imported, were found in the island of Cuba. In 1550, a letter from St. Domingo to the Emperor states: "There is scarcely a single native left on the island, and those Indians who have been brought to the island as slaves, the greater part have fled into the depths of the country, as the companionship of the Spaniards is abhorrent to them."

Ferdinand, in his official dispatches to the West India Admiral, dated Seville, June 6, 1511, says: "*The conversion of the Indians is the principal foundation of the conquest, that which principally ought to be attended to.*" It may be said that the conversion of the Indians in the West India islands was thoroughly accomplished in about twenty-five years from the time they were discovered and occupied by the Spaniards, as, during this period, the knife, the bullet, bloodhounds and horrible oppression, the converting agencies of the Christians, had done their perfect work, and scarcely a vestige of the happy millions who, but a few years before had inhabited these islands, remained.

The same system of converting the heathen on the main land had already commenced, and the powerful effects of the Christianity of the age were visible in the rapid extinction of the native races, which, in some localities, was complete. A widely extended country like Mexico, and other regions in South America escaped total depopulation.

It cannot be said that the fearful amount of misery and death which now, after the lapse of more than three centuries, casts a lurid glare over the early course of the Spaniards in the New World, attracted no attention at the time, or met with no opposition. Certain humane and philanthropic individuals belonging to several of the religious orders of the day, took a truly humane and noble stand in relation to the hideous acts of the conquerors to which they were eye-witnesses. Among these good men, Las Casas stands preeminent for his purity of purpose, his self-sacrificing spirit, zeal, courage and ability. Some twelve Dominican monks residing in Hispaniola were, as a body, thoroughly opposed to the cruelties practised upon the Indians by the Spaniards; and one of these monks, Father Antonio Montosino, became conspicuous for his bold and active measures tending to a more humane policy. But the grand result proved that all the efforts of these good men—extraordinary in their day—availed nothing. Their strength failed, their limbs withered, and their voices were hushed in death as one by one they disappeared, leaving the evil tide of human affairs to roll over the New World with overwhelming volume and power.

With the early destruction of the aborigines in the West India islands and some of the countries on the American continent, originally overrun by the Spaniards, *an imperative demand for laborers arose, and thus the way for the importation of negro slaves from Africa was opened.*

In 1501, by royal permission, a few negro slaves were imported into Hispaniola. One of the conditions of this importation was, that the negro slaves should be of those born among Christians in Spain, that they might aid in *converting the heathen* in the New World. But as these negroes did not prove enduring specimens of muscular Christianity, resort was had to the pure heathen article in Africa, and a small invoice of these was imported into St. Domingo, in 1503. The king, in a letter to OVANDO, the Governor of St. Domingo, dated Segovia, Sept. 1505, says : "I will send more negro slaves as you request ; I think there may be a hundred." Some of these negro slaves ran away among the natives and caused much mischief. As the natives diminished the demand for negro slaves increased, and the importations became greater. The royal historiographer, HERRERA, states that the king informed the Admiral Don DIEGO COLUMBUS, in 1510, that he had ordered the officials at Seville to dispatch fifty negroes to work the mines in Hispaniola. The following sentence occurs in a letter of the king, dated June, 1511, to an officer in the colony named Sampier. "I do not understand how so many negroes have died." The 24th of October, 1511, the king gave the following order to the officials of Seville : "Pay to Pedro de Ledesma, our pilot, that which is due to him for the last voyage made at our command, to transport negroes to Hispaniola."

It appears that the exportation of negro slaves to the West India islands was at first under the immediate supervision of the crown, and the business was somewhat limited up to 1517, when Charles V. granted to the governor, De Bresa, a Fleming, the monopoly of importing 4,000 negroes into the West India islands within the period of eight years. Las Casas has been charged by his enemies with being the first cause of the importation of negro slaves into the Spanish colonies. This is manifestly unjust. It is true, however, that in 1517, Las Casas, in his zeal to alleviate the sufferings of the Indians, and save them from total annihilation under the horrid atrocities of the Spaniards, to which he was an eye-witness, advised the importation of negro slaves. Las Casas speedily repented of his error, and in writing his own history subsequently, he says :

> "This advice, that license should be given to bring negro slaves to these lands, the Clerigo Casas first gave, not considering the injustice with which the Portuguese take them, and make them slaves ; which advice, after he had apprehended the nature of the thing, he would not have given for all he had in the world. For he always held that they had been made slaves unjustly and tyrannically ; for the same reason holds good of them as of the Indians."

In 1523, another monopoly grant was given to De Bresa, before the first had expired, and the last permitted the importation of 4,000 negro slaves into the Indies in eight years.

De Bresa sold these grants to a company of Genoese merchants, and negroes were sold at a very high price, Figueroa, writing to the Emperor from St. Domingo, July, 1520, says :

> "Negroes are very much in request ; none have come for about a year. It would have been better to have given De Bresa the customs' duties (*i. e.* the duties that had usually been paid on the importation of slaves), than to have placed a prohibition."

Owing to the continued remonstrances of the colonists by reason of the scarcity of slaves, the monopoly granted to De Bresa was recalled in 1524, and instead of it, permission was granted for the importation of 1,500 negroes to Hispaniola ; 300 to Cuba ; 500 to Porto Rico ; 300 to Jamaica ; and 500 to Castilla del Oro, on the main land. De Bresa was compensated by having assigned to him the customs duties on the 1,500 negroes imported into Hispaniola.

In 1527, 1,000 negroes were allowed to be imported into Cuba. In 1528, the king granted to Enrique Ciguer and Geronimo Sailler, Germans, the monopoly of importing 4,000 negro slaves into the Indias, within a certain time. In 1531, the Bishop of St. Domingo writes to the empress that the perpetuity of that island, of Porto Rico and of Cuba consists in the negroes, and he requests that they should be imported without license.

In 1536, the monopoly to import 4,000 negro slaves into the Indies within the term of four years, was granted for 26,000 ducats. In 1542, one of the king's chaplains who had traversed the island of Hispaniola, informed the Council of the Indies that according to his belief there were 25,000 to 30,000 negroes on the island, and the number of the masters was 1,200. We find it stated in the Muñoz collection that in 1552, license was granted to import 23,000 negro slaves into the Indies within the term of seven years at eight ducats per head. The number of negroes annually imported into Hispaniola alone, at this period, was 2,000.

The granting of licenses to import negroes into the Indies and the customs duties arising from the importation, constituted the source of an enormous revenue to the crown of Spain. A portion of the money accruing from this source was employed in building the fortress-palaces of Madrid and Toledo. Helps, in his truly valuable work, "*The Spanish Conquest of America*," says on this point:

> "Many of the noted buildings of the earth are of most questionable origin; but these two palaces must be allowed to enjoy a remarkable preëminence as monuments of folly and oppression. Other buildings have been erected solely at the cost of the suffering subjects of great despots, or by prisoners captured in war; but the blood-cemented walls of the Alcazar of Madrid might boast of being raised upon a complication of suffering hitherto unparalleled in the annals of mankind."

The South American continent was discovered in the year

1500 by Vincent Yanez Pinzon, a companion of Columbus. and in a very few years, slave-hunting and slavery nearly desolated all that region of country lying on the Caribbean Sea, then known as the Pearl Coast. The conquest of Mexico was achieved by Cortez in 1521. The conquest of Peru was commenced by Pizzaro in 1524, and completed in 1527. The coast of Brazil had been discovered and its unexplored territory divided into captaincies by the King of Portugal in 1530.

Lerdo de Tejada, in his full and reliable "*Apuntos Historicos de Vera Cruz*," says:

> "In 1535, sixteen years after the conquest, the greater portion of the inhabitants living on the Vera Cruz shore was composed of the Indians who were there before the conquest, and negro slaves brought from Africa by the Spaniards, as into the other colonies, to perform the severe labor of the field. From the union of these two races, the Indian and the negro, came the mestizos, known as *jarochos*, which to this day form a part of the inhabitants of Vera Cruz and the neighborhood."

It is evident, therefore, that under the license to import negro slaves into the Spanish colonies, this barbarous traffic was commenced in Mexico immediately after the conquest of the country by Cortez.

That vast region known as Brazil fell to the Portuguese. The French, Dutch, Spanish and English made occasional inroads upon this territory, and at times held possession of parts and the whole of the same ; but the Portuguese always regained the country, and it remained a dependency of Portugal until 1822. At the outset, the Portuguese equalled, if they did not excel the Spaniards in their cruel treatment of the natives, who were at once enslaved on plantations. Negroes were preferred, however, as they proved more capable and enduring. On the discovery of the mines in the interior, the latter part of the seventeenth century, the general destruction of the natives commenced. The Portuguese ransacked the country from end to end to capture Indians and keep up the supply of slaves in the mines. The depopulation of Brazil then went on at a fearful rate, and in a few years the natives ceased to form an element of any great value in the labor of the country. Something more than 2,000,000 of the Brazil Indians must have been enslaved and destroyed by the Portuguese and other European nations, before the middle of the eighteenth century. Here then, we have a vast region ready to swallow up innumerable cargoes of heathen from Africa. Circumstances favored the importation of negro slaves into Brazil. The Portuguese were in possession of the western coast of Africa, and their arrangements for the commercial slave trade were complete. Bahia, one of the principal Brazilian ports, was a convenient and favorite resort for slave traders, by reason of its nearness to the African coast, and the importation of negro slaves into Brazil was co-existent with the discovery and occupation of the country by the Portuguese.

Paraguay and Buenos Ayres were discovered by the Spaniards in 1516, and while the Portuguese were occupying Brazil, the Spaniards were gradually working their way into those countries to the south and west, now known as the Argentine Confederation.

It may be said that by the year 1550, the general outline of those extended regions on this continent known as Spanish America, and the Portuguese possessions in Brazil were defined. The aborigines of the West India islands had been totally destroyed and their places filled by negro slaves imported from Africa. Immense numbers of the Mexican people were disappearing under the iron rule of the Spaniard. South America, divided between the Spaniards and Portuguese, with an occasional inroad by some other European nation, had been entirely depopulated in certain sections, and the work of human sacrifice was rapidly progressing throughout the entire length and breadth of the land. In proportion as the natives disappeared, the demand for negro slaves increased, and we thus find that in the middle of the sixteenth century the great commercial slave trade on this continent and the West Indies, with the exception of that portion of North America not then settled, was fully established. With the West India islands the trade was very brisk, as they depended entirely on this source for labor. With Mexico, the trade was active only with certain limited sections. With Brazil it was just commencing on a grand scale, and with other portions of South America the traffic was gradually finding its way to every part.

This immense trade in human flesh—immense in amount, and immense in the profit it yielded—was at first monopolized by the Spaniards and Portuguese. By sure and not very slow degrees, other European nations encroached upon this monopoly, primarily through companies of their respective citizens, carrying on a contraband trade, and finally, whatever of monopoly remained was transferred from one nation to another by grants protected by treaty.

The Dutch smuggled considerable numbers of negro slaves into the West India islands and Brazil before the close of the sixteenth century.

One JOHN HAWKINS was the first Englishman who entered upon the African slave trade. In the year 1562, HAWKINS went to the coast of Africa with three vessels, the Solomon, of 120 tons, the Swallow of 100 tons, and the Jonas, of 40 tons. These vessels obtained 300 negroes on the coast of Africa, partly by capture, and partly by purchase, and took them to Hispaniola, where they were sold to good advantage, and HAWKINS returned to England. Another successful expedition was made and the English considered the African slave trade fairly open to them. Queen ELIZABETH knighted HAWKINS, and made him treasurer of the navy. The queen also chartered a company to carry on the trade. Thus Protestant ELIZABETH vied with Catholic Europe in favoring the African slave trade, by which the descendants of HAM should be snatched from heathenism, as brands plucked from the burning, and transported to lands where the light of Christianity would penetrate their benighted souls.

In 1618, King JAMES I. granted a slave trading charter to Sir ROBERT RICH.

The first English colony was planted in Virginia 1607, and the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth 1621. In August, 1619, a Dutch man-of-war visited Jamestown, Virginia, having on board negro slaves, of which they sold nineteen to the settlers. These were the first negro slaves imported into the English colonies. In 1670, according to Gov. BERKLEY'S statistics, there were 2,000 negro slaves in the Virginia colony. Between the years 1630 and 1640, when there was no Parliament in England, the Dutch carried on a lucrative commerce with the English-American plantations, and it is quite probable that the importation of negro slaves formed one branch of this profitable commerce. The Puritans commenced the African slave trade in 1646. Their first slave trader was fitted out and sailed for the coast of Africa, from Boston, in that year.

The island of Nevis, held by the English, contained, in 1628, 8,000 negro slaves, employed in the culture of sugar.

The island of St. Christopher in the Caribbean Sea had been settled by the English and French in 1624, and in 1635 it was well supplied with negro slaves.

The island of Montserrat was settled by the English under Sir THOMAS WARREN, Governor of St. Christopher, in 1632, and in 1658 it contained 10,000 negro slaves.

The French from the island of St. Christopher settled the island of Martinique in 1635, and in 1658 it contained 10,000 negro slaves. Guadaloupe was settled and stocked with negroes by the French the same year.

Slavery was established in all the French colonies in America by royal edicts during the reign of LOUIS XIII.

The Dutch took possession of the small island of St. Eustatia in the Caribbean Sea 1632, and it was chiefly used by them for its commodious position, from which a contraband trade could be carried on with the neighboring European colonies. 15,000 negro slaves were on this island in 1658.

In 1637, some of the Dutch West India companies' ships captured the Guinea coast castle of *St. George del Mina*, the principal fort of the Portuguese on the African coast, and were thus supplied first hand with negroes for carrying on their sugar plantations, which they then held in Brazil, and supplying the trade with slaves.

In 1657, the Dutch occupied the small and barren West India island of Curaçoa for the sole purpose of doing a contraband business in negro slaves and European merchandise, with the Spanish colonies.

In 1662, Charles II. granted a monopoly, authorizing a company to export 3,000 negro slaves per annum to his American colonies. This was a most valuable privilege, and it came out under the immediate auspices of the Queen Dowager and the Duke of York.

This monopoly became odious, and in 1695 it was resolved by the Commons of England in Committee of the Whole, "that for the better supply of the plantations, all the subjects of Great Britain should have liberty to trade in Africa for negroes, with such limits as should be prescribed by Parliament."

Some Frenchmen had for many years—since 1635 it is said—maintained an establishment on the Senegal River in Africa, under the name of the "Senegal Company," and in 1685, says Macpherson, in his "Annals of Commerce," the king of France, observing that the great extent of the limits of the Senegal Company (no less than about 1,500 leagues of the coast of Africa) excluded all his other subjects from trading in negro slaves, for the use of the West India colonies, now established a New Guinea company with exclusive right for twenty years to trade in negroes, gold dust, etc., between the river Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope; the balance of the coast being reserved to the Senegal Company.

In 1696, the Portuguese, having emerged from the rule of Spain, contracted to furnish the Spanish colonies with 25,000 negro slaves in five years. This was the foundation of the famous *asiento* contract which figures so largely in English history. The contract was fulfilled by the Portuguese, the king taking part in it and advancing two-thirds of the funds necessary to carry it out. Just as this contract with the

Portuguese expired, 1701, the French gave a king, PHILIP V., to Spain, who transferred the slave trade monopoly to his countrymen, this being considered the greatest favor he could legally grant to them.

The *asiento* contract papers passed into the hands of the English by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, and subsequently, in May of that year, Great Britain obtained from Spain an entirely new contract, by which the South Sea company engaged to deliver to the Spanish colonies, 4,800 negro slaves yearly for thirty years. This occasioned great rejoicing in England, so valuable was the contract considered. The English were not limited to the number stipulated per annum, except during the five last years of the contract. For twenty-five years they imported all they could sell. They agreed to pay £7 10s. for each of the first 4,000 negroes ; the other eight hundred were freed from this tribute in consideration of £45,000 advanced to the court of Madrid, to be reimbursed in the course of ten years. This tribute was reduced to half for all the slaves that were not required by the contract. PHILIP V. indemnified himself for this sacrifice by reserving the fourth part of the profits made by the company.

Infringements on this contract and restrictions by Spain, formed at one time, one of the principal causes of war with Spain. The peace of 1748 restored to England all their rights in the *asiento* contract, but the Company was induced to give up the short period that remained of the contract for an indemnity. ROBERT MAYNE, a London merchant, succeeded to the association under a Spanish name, but not meeting with great success, the resolution was taken in 1752 to receive negro slaves on the island of Porto Rico, a duty of £9 to be paid to government on each slave. In 1773 Spain renewed the charter with a company of Spanish, French and Genoese merchants, doing business in Cadiz. The tax was diminished and other advantages granted by which the slave trade acquired fresh activity and became more extended.

It is mentioned in the writings of Padre ALEGRE that the black vomit, or yellow fever, from which Vera Cruz, in Mexico, suffers so much, was first brought to that place by an English ship loaded with negroes,. in 1699.

In 1698, the English contraband slave traders had virtually broken up the Royal African Company monopoly in Guinea and other parts of the African coast, and this year the English Parliament passed an act relieving the Royal African Company from the expense of sustaining the forts, castles, etc., necessary to protect the slave trade, by imposing a duty of ten per cent. on all merchandise imported into Africa, and ten per cent. on all merchandise exported from Africa, *negroes excepted.* This trade, which had been virtually open, was now made legally so.

In 1708 the English House of Commons resolved, "That the slave trade was important, and ought to be open to all the queen's subjects trading from Great Britain ;" and the act of 23d George II. declares :

> "The slave trade to be very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for supplying the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging, with a sufficient number of negroes at a reasonable rate."

In 1730, the English parliament granted £10,000 per annum, till 1746, to sustain the forts,. factories, etc., on the coast of Africa, that the slave trade might be protected and carried on successfully.

At this time the English supplied their North American colonies, from Massachusetts Bay to Florida, with negro slaves. They held the monopoly of supplying the Spanish colonies with the same article. They maintained slave factories at Vera Cruz, Panama, Porto Bello, Carthagena, Buenos Ayres, and subsequently in Brazil, and in contract with Portugal to furnish that dependency with negro slaves.

When some of the American colonies protested to the mother country against the importation of negro slaves within their limits, the English government, as late as 1775, just as the American Revolution commenced, thus replied to these protests :

> "*We cannot allow the Colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation.*"

Bryan Edwards, the best English authority we can quote on the subject, says:

> "The British slave trade had attained its highest pitch of prosperity a short time before the commencement of the American War."

In 1771, the English exported from Africa in 192 ships, 47,146 negro slaves. This is the official account.

In 1787, the merchants of Liverpool transmitted to the Lords of the Privy Council, the following account of the number of slaves exported from Africa that year by the different European nations.

British,	38,000
French,	20,000
Dutch,	4,000
Danes,	2,000
Portuguese,	10,000
	74,000

It is a well-known fact that the contraband trade in negro slaves averaged more than the legalized trade.

The whole number of factories and forts established on the coast of Africa at this time was 40, of which 14 belonged to the English, 3 to the French, 15 to the Dutch, 4 to the Portuguese, and 4 to the Danes.

CULMINATING PERIOD OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

Commencing with a few remarks upon the origin of slavery, we have given a line of facts in something like chronological order, exhibiting the degrees of advancement made by Christian nations in commercial slavery on the Western Continent and Islands up to the year 1787. The line of facts given might be greatly enlarged and perfected, but we think sufficient has been stated to prove what we proposed to prove in the first place, namely, that the new era of commercial slavery reached its culminating period throughout the American continent and the West Indian islands, the latter part of the eighteenth century.

At this period, we find the continent and islands occupied by the following nationalities :

England held possession of the northern portion of North America, with the geographical division of Canada; a portion of Guiana, and the West India islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Bermudas, Bahamas, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, and most of the Virgin Isles.

The thirteen United States occupied the central portion of North America.

The extensive American possessions of Spain were divided into four vice-royalties, namely, Mexico, Peru, La Plata and New Granada ; and five captain-generalships, namely, Yucatan, Guatemala, Chili, Venezuela, and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

The Portuguese occupied Brazil.

The French held possession of a portion of Guiana on the main land, and the West India islands of St. Domingo, Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Cayenne.

The Danes owned the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix, of the group of Virgin Isles.

The number of negro slaves in North America and the West India islands, at the period at which we are writing, can be given with accuracy, but with Mexico, Central and South America, it is otherwise, as there are absolutely no very reliable statistics in existence relative to this point. We have made a careful examination, however, of all the information to be obtained on the subject, and we give the result, believing it to be an approximation to the truth—rather under than over the actuality.

It must be borne in mind that when Spain ruled the Spanish American countries on this continent, the *aborigines* of those countries were held as *slaves*.* Though the Spaniards made terrible havoc with the natives, enough appear to have survived to meet the necessary requirements of labor in

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* See Mexico, page 227.

Mexico, Central and South America, so that negro slavery, except in several limited districts, never prevailed to any great extent in those continental possessions of the Spaniards.

The following is our estimate of slaves on this continent and in the West India islands in 1790:

	Negro Slaves.	Indian Slaves.	Total.
United States, . . .	697,897		
British West Indies, . .	505,241		
French West Indies, . .	800,000		
Guiana, ...	50,000		
Spanish possessions on the continent, ...	410,000	7,000,000	
Brazil (Portuguese) . .	600,000		
	3,063,138	7,000,000	10,063,138

The supply of negro slaves in those days was kept up by direct importation, and not from the natural increase of the negroes on the soil. The importation of negro slaves at this period consisted principally of male adults, less than one-third being women, and very few small children. The great mass of the negro slave population was, therefore, an adult laboring population, and with the usual proportion of women and children, they would have made an exhibit of more than 6,000,000.

The average value of a negro slave at this time may be stated at $300. The regular rate for good plantation hands was £70.

The use of slave labor was careless and extravagant in the extreme, except in certain localities on the continent. The consumption of negro slaves, especially in the West Indies and Brazil, was enormous, and yet the result in products was comparatively small.

The importation of negro slaves into America during the latter part of the eighteenth century, must have averaged something more than 100,000 per annum, and throughout the entire century, it could not have been less than 75,000 per annum.

At the commencement of the American Revolution, this continent, every foot of it from the frozen North to Magellan, was slave territory. The West India islands were all devoted to slavery. By royal edicts, legislative enactments, and common law, the right of man to own property in man was acknowledged and protected in the strongest manner possible. All the nations having possessions in the Western Hemisphere, were actively engaged in supplying those possessions with slaves. The negro slaves alone, nearly equalled the pure whites throughout the continent and the islands, and taking into account the Indian slaves in Mexico and South America, the bond outnumbered the free, in all America (excepting the wild Indians), two to one!

The entire labor or service of the continent and the islands, if we make a slight exception in Canada and the New England colonies, was performed by slaves, and all the exports were the products of slave labor. The institution of slavery was, therefore, not only national, but *continental.* The moral, legal, territorial, industrial, and commercial *status* of the institution was complete.

In this, the darkest day of modern slavery, the American DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE flashed upon the world. This Declaration declared the following:

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT; THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; AND THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS; THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

A line of poetry in a world of prose—a ray of light penetrating universal darkness—the leaven of humanity, justice, and freedom in the mass of cruelty, iniquity, and despotism—an anchor of hope—a sign of the millennium, but a positive impossibility, as a whole, intellectually and socially, if not politically, so long as men are created as they are.

This is the light in which we view the Declaration of Independence. It was a superb document on which to base a revolution and achieve independence. But eleven years afterward, when it became necessary for the fathers to frame a constitution adapted to the reality of things as they then existed, material interests, imperious matter of fact expediency, required that all the poetry and romance, all the fine ideas about equality in man and his inalienable rights, contained in the Declaration upon which the independence of the country had been achieved, should be repudiated. Consequently, a Constitution that recognized the right of man to own property in man, and protected him in that right, so far as human law can protect him, was framed and adopted. Revolting as it is to acknowledge this feature in our Constitution at the present day, it must be done. A certain race of human beings have been bought and sold, and held to involuntary labor or service under this Constitution, from the day it was framed to the present. The monstrous inconsistency between the Declaration of Independence and a Constitution that recognized the right of man to hold property in man, as well as the anomaly of basing a free republican government on the freedom of one race and the slavery of another, staggered the fathers, and well-nigh proved an insurmountable obstacle to the realization of their patriotic hopes at the very outset. We have one evidence of this in the care with which the words *slave* and *slavery* were excluded from the Constitution.

Article I. of the Constitution, section second, third clause, says :

> "Representative and direct taxes shall be proportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons*."

We believe this gives one representative in the United States Congress to every 50,000 slaves ; slavery is, therefore, a political element in our government.

Also, in Article I., section ninth, first clause, we find :

> "The migration or importation of such *persons* as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such *importation*, not exceeding ten dollars for each *person*."

The foreign and domestic slave trade is here made constitutional, irrevocably so until 1803, and as long after as Congress might allow. The Constitution does not say the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States shall think proper to admit, *shall* be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808, etc., but it says, "*shall not be prohibited*," etc. Under this provision the foreign importation of negro slaves from Africa was abolished in 1808, *by special act of Congress*, but domestic migration of negro slaves, made constitutional in the same clause, is suffered to continue to this day. The negro slaves imported under the above clause, passed through the custom-house and paid a duty of ten dollars per head, the same as merchandise, and under the Constitution, this business can be resumed any day Congress may permit.

Article IV., section second, third clause says :

> "No *person* held to *service or labor* in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such *service or labor*, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such *service or labor* may be due."

Thus the property in the slave was secured to the owner, and the right of the owner to his property was made perfect. This is in direct conflict with the law of the Jews on that subject, as we find in the book of Deuteronomy, chapter xxiii., verses 15 and 16 :

> "15. Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee :
>
> "16. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him."

It is said that this law referred to slaves who escaped to the Jews from *foreign countries;* but if we fall back upon the superstitious notions of the Jews relative to slavery, we meet with contradictions, and are obliged to follow a zig-zag course of argument which fortify us in no very decided manner, either for or against the institution.

The clauses we have quoted from the Constitution are all that refer directly to the subject of slavery. There is not one word in that instrument which points to the ultimate abolition of the institution, or places any limit to its extension. On the contrary, it perpetuates the institution and gives opportunity for its extension so long as it remains the Constitution of the country. On this point, and to ascertain how the fathers regarded the *status* of slavery and the negro, let us look at the practice of the fathers themselves.

The following is the language used in those days in certain treaties, instruments second in importance only to the Constitution :

"PROVISIONAL ARTICLES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY,

"Agreed upon by and between Richard Oswald, Esquire the Commissioner of His Britannic Majesty, for treating of Peace with the Commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said Majesty, on one part, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens, four of the Commissioners of the said States, etc., etc., etc.

"Article VII. * * * All prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and His Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any '*negroes or other property*' of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the said U. S., and from every port, place and harbor within the same. * * *

"Done at Paris, Nov. 30, 1782.

"RICHARD OSWALD, [L.S.]
"JOHN ADAMS, [L.S.]
"B. FRANKLIN, [L.S.]
"JOHN JAY, [L.S.]
"HENRY LAURENS, [L.S.]"

"DEFINITE TREATY OF PEACE, BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.

"Article VII. * * * And His Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any '*negroes or* *other property*" of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, etc., etc., etc. * * * * * * * * * * *

"Done at Paris, Sept. 3, 1783.

"D. HARTLEY, [L.S.]
"JOHN ADAMS, [L.S.]
"B. FRANKLIN, [L.S.]
"JOHN JAY, [L.S.]"

"TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY, BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

"[Ratified and confirmed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, Feb. 11, 1815.]

"Article I. * * * Shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any '*slaves or other private property*.' * * * * * * * * *

"Done, in triplicate, at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814.

"GAMBIER, [L.S.]
"HENRY GOULBURN, [L.S.]
"WILLIAM ADAMS, [L.S.]
"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, [L.S.]
"J. A. BAYARD, [L.S.]
"H. CLAY, [L.S.]
"JONA. RUSSELL, [L.S.]
"ALBERT GALLATIN. [L.S.]"

In 1803, during the administration of Mr. JEFFERSON, that extensive region, then known as the Louisiana Territory, was purchased from France. Mr. JEFFERSON, we believe, considered this purchase a violation of the Constitution, but at the same time, he considered the political necessity for the transaction sufficient to override the Constitution. This is one of the instances that demonstrates how utterly worthless written national compacts are when expediency requires that they should be set aside. In this instance, it was either a purchase or a foreign war. By this purchase, an immense tract of slave territory was added to the Union. Louisiana came in as a slave State in 1812, under the administration of Mr. MADISON, and two more slave States from this territory, Arkansas and Missouri, were admitted subsequently.

The next purchase of territory was that of Florida, one of the Spanish possessions. General JACKSON invaded this territory by order of the Government, to chastise the Indians who were committing depredations on our southern border; and in 1821, Spain having no other alternative, sold the territory to the United States, and it immediately came into the Union as slave territory under the administration of Mr. MONROE.

The Constitution protecting slavery and imposing no limit to its extension or duration, treaties that required foreign nations to give up captive negroes as *property*, and purchases of slave territory were the acts of the fathers. Every foot of slave territory added to this Union since the adoption of the Constitution, except Texas, was brought in by the fathers themselves. When, therefore, Republican politicians or stump demagogues in the North, who may be puzzled to define their position, declare: "We are for the Constitution, the Union and the laws! We stand upon the Constitution as it is—as it was understood and interpreted by WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, MONROE, and other of the fathers!" it appears to us that they declare for as strong a pro-slavery Constitution as ever was framed on earth, for a Union based on slavery, and for laws that protect and perpetuate the institution; and that they go back to days when the right of man to hold property in man was more universally conceded than it is now, and when the understanding and practice of the fathers was to permit the extension of slavery under the Constitution. Much as our desires and feelings incline us to view this matter in a different light, our judgment forces us to this conclusion—the conclusion to which the South has been educated under the Constitution and the acts of the fathers, most of whom lived and died slave-owners. Under these circumstances, it can scarcely be said that the slave States have claimed more than they have a *constitutional* right to demand.

"Distance lends enchantment to the view," mentally as well as optically. It is doubtless a good custom to cast a halo of glory around the great and good of earth who have passed away—to remember their better part and bury their errors in oblivion. But it is not always safe to regard the great dead, who yet have a direct influence on our destiny, as infallible.

It is almost inexplicable how the men of '76, those who brought forth the Declaration of Independence, carried through the revolution successfully, and consolidated the federal Union, could have based and carried out a democratic republican form of government on the political freedom and equality of the whites, and the legal slavery of the blacks. This sudden descent from the transcendental in liberty and equality, down, down into the dark shades of human bondage, is scarcely credible in the present day. The South, in theory and practice, claims this to be the fact, but denies that there is any inconsistency in it. The South is undoubtedly right as regards the fact, but wrong in claiming that there is no inconsistency. The North, in theory, denies the fact, and of course the inconsistency, but in practice, the great consolidated Republican party of the North has drifted into the abolition current and landed upon the abolition platform, which acknowledges the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, and denounces it as a "covenant with hell," and thus, under the shadow of a false theory that will give the color of constitutionality to its acts, a great sectional party is created and an aggressive policy against the South, contrary to the spirit and letter of the Constitution, is adopted. Here this whole matter lies in a nut-shell.

If all parties would simply fall back upon the truth—the reality of things, and acknowledge the fact of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, and that the inconsistency of this fact with a Democratic-republican form of government had become more and more manifest every year since its adoption; and if all parties would acknowledge the complete *status* of slavery as it existed when the Constitution was framed, and that in obedience to an overruling Providence, the *status* of the institution, as it then existed, had since been growing weaker year by year, the ruinous element of discord in our national politics would disappear!

The curious notions about slavery that existed in England during the time of Henry VIII., are worthy of being noted here. The following is the form of a manumission granted to two of his slaves by King Henry in 1514:

> " Whereas; originally God created all men free; but afterwards the laws and customs of nations subjected some under the yoke of servitude. We think it pious and meritorious with God, to make certain persons absolutely free from servitude who are under villinage to us. Wherefore, we do accordingly manumit and free from the yoke of servitude, Henry Knight, a tailor, and John Erle, a husdbandman, our natives (*i. e.* our slaves), as being born in our manor of Stoke Clymmyslande, in our county of Cornwall, together with all their issue born, or hereafter to be born, and all their goods, chattels, and lands already acquired, or hereafter to be acquired by them; so as the said two persons, with their issue, shall henceforth be deemed by us and our heirs free, and of free condition."

It will not do to judge the fathers of the republic as regards the slavery question, from the anti-slavery standpoint of the present day. If we would obtain some satisfactory explanation of their acts, and comprehend the motives that actuated them in their political course, we must carry ourselves back to the times in which they lived. We must remember that those were times in which men's souls were tried. The first attempt at self-government had proved a failure, under the old Confederation; jealousies were already rife, and conflicting interests were to be harmonized. The new form of government proposed was, in many respects, entirely experimental. The dark pall of slavery was drawn over this continent from ocean to ocean, and from pole to pole. The labor of the continent and its islands was slave labor. All Europe sustained the system, and had sustained it for centuries. Society and the industrial interests of the colonies were so entirely based on the system of involuntary servitude, that its necessity was, for the time being, absolutely paramount. That the system of slavery as it then existed should have been allowed, for a certain period, the importance then given to it, is perfectly easy of comprehension; and it is evident that no federal Union, no general government could have been formed at that period without acknowledging the system of labor then existing, as an industrial necessity for the time being. But in view of those principles of liberty and equality upon which independence was achieved, and the clear and decided sentiments expressed by the early patriots, on the evils of slavery, there is certainly some reason to marvel that the founders of the great American empire did not cause to be inserted in the instrument designed to serve as the Palladium of our liberties for all time, a single clause indicative of their fixed determination, that under this instrument human bondage should, sooner or later, come to an end throughout the land which it was supposed had been gloriously consecrated to human freedom.

This point of inconsistency is the most disagreeable to touch upon, and the most difficult to explain. But we do find something like a satisfactory explanation in the undoubted, undeniable fact that the founders of the republic saw signs of decay in the system of slave labor ; and having faith in an overruling Providence, they believed the economy of nature, in obedience to the law of progress, would, in due time, bring the unfortunate system to an end, and bury it with other false notions and superstitions of the past. That the fathers were right in this particular, we are fully prepared to demonstrate, and in doing this, we must explain wherein they committed a serious error, namely, in forming too high an estimate of those who should follow in their footsteps. WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON, ADAMS, MADISON, PINCKNEY, RANDOLPH, and others, who pledged their all in the creation of the federal Union, from their very nobility of nature, were unable to conceive that their glorious labors could be brought to naught in less than three-quarters of a century by a band of crazy fanatics and a low order of politicians, whose sole claim to humane principles, patriotism, and statesmanship lies in the successful exercise of the most common and the meanest of all talent—that of stirring up sectional strife, and causing people to hate each other.

THE DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

The economy of nature is the law of progress, and just in proportion as the economy of nature opens the way, society advances. The moral tone of every community depends, therefore, upon the development of its material interests, and all reforms in society are forced onward by expediency in its efforts to furnish the masses with the necessaries of life. Reform bides its time.

A CHRIST appearing in the days of MOSES, would either have been totally neglected, caged as a lunatic, or stoned to death by the rabble, and never heard of beyond those who did the deed.

A LUTHER appearing in the days of PETER the Hermit, would have roamed about unheeded, or been drawn and quartered, and his flesh and memory consigned to the dogs.

When CHRIST appeared, the down-trodden masses of Judea and the kingdoms round about were ready to take some heed of his democratic, liberal teachings. When LUTHER appeared, those whom religious despotism had ground into the dust were ready to rise up in aid of the subversion of the doctrine of infallibility in the head of the Church, and sustain Christian liberty. These two reformers stand forth, towering above the disorder and gloom of their times, like bold headlands on a low tempestuous shore. Truth, according to our estimation of time, makes but slow progress. All the moral advancement made in society since the days of MOSES, and we do not consider it very great, appears to be based on the teachings of CHRIST, and the reform of MARTIN LUTHER, and developed through the practical application of the science of mechanics to labor by which the standard of labor is elevated to the benefit of the masses.

Disinterested justice, humanity, and philanthropy, appear to have existed in individuals since the world began, but never in communities. In communities these principles take root and flourish to the extent experience proves them applicable to the development of material interests.

The necessities of man require the subjugation of the earth, and man, in his necessities, is led or forced to acknowledge and adopt the principles of justice first, humanity next, and philanthropy last.

The decline of commercial slavery in America, we regard as a perfect exemplification of the truth of the foregoing remarks. Individual opposition to slavery in America, which had always existed, was of no effect until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when, after sustaining slavery for upwards of 150 years, the New England communities took measures to abolish the institution. An uncongenial climate and soil, combined with new and profitable developments in free labor, had, at this period, brought the institution of slavery to the last stages of existence throughout several of the northern colonies. What remained was becoming a nuisance.

Rhode Island, we believe, claims the honor of first initiating legislative measures of abolition.

We are indebted to Arnold's *History of Rhode Island* for the following facts relative to the early legislation of that State on slavery :

> "In 1770, an act to prohibit the further importation of slaves into Rhode Island was moved in the Assembly.
>
> "In June, 1774, the subject of slavery, which for four years before had received attention, was again considered, in consequence of the action of the town of Providence. 'As those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others, reads the preamble, and then proceeds to enact, 'that for the future, no negro or mulattoe slave shall be brought into this colony,' or if any were brought in they should become free, except the servants of passing travellers, or of British colonists, residing here for a term of years, who, on their departure should take their slaves with them, or negroes brought from Africa by way of the West Indies, whose owners should give bonds to export them within one year. To prevent slaves being brought here for the purpose of receiving their freedom, and so becoming a charge upon the public, a fine was prescribed which was also attached to the harboring any slave thus introduced. In this decided action, Rhode Island again took the lead of all her sister colonies."

The preamble to the foregoing act is somewhat peculiar, when we consider that the act itself liberates nobody, but simply stops the importation of slaves *except for export*, defines the rights of transient parties to their slave property, the regular slave trader among the rest, and imposes a fine upon all who bring slaves into the colony to receive their freedom, or harbor any slaves thus introduced, to prevent their "becoming a charge upon the public."

In 1775, an emancipation act was presented to the Rhode Island Assembly, declaring free "all negroes as well as all other persons born in this colony."

This act was referred to a future session, and thus it remained until February, 1784, when it passed the Assembly. By this act,

> "All children of slave mothers, after the first of March, were to be free, the cost of their rearing to be paid by the towns where they were born; and to defray these charges, the Council might bind out to service the males, till the age of 21, and the females till 18. The next year, the clause requiring them to be reared at the expense of the towns was repealed, and that charge was laid upon the owner of the mother."

There is much in the foregoing extracts that is worthy of attentive consideration. With all the desire to be rid of the negro, Rhode Island was disposed to afford legal rights and courteous treatment to strangers holding slaves, and whom business or pleasure brought within the limit of their laws; and in their act to prevent slaves being brought within the colony to receive their freedom, it is evident that the people would not then have facilitated the operations of the underground railroad, nor could the Assembly have been induced to pass a Personal Liberty Bill.

Though Rhode Island was the first to take steps for the abolition of slavery, Massachusetts is entitled to the honor of first abolishing the institution. That State, in 1780, inserted in her bill of rights that "all men are born free and equal," and in 1783, the Supreme Court decided that this declaration was a bar thereafter to slaveholding in the State. Thus, slavery, which practically had died a natural death in Massachusetts, was legally buried in 1783, and that State became the first patch of legalized free soil in America.

In 1784, Connecticut passed an act which prohibited the introduction of slaves and declared that no negro or mulatto child born after the 1st day of March, 1784, should be held to servitude longer than till twenty-five years thereafter.

In 1780, Pennsylvania passed an act prohibiting the introduction of slaves, and declaring children born thereafter of slave mothers, free.

Virginia prohibited the further introduction of slaves in 1778, and in 1782, all legal restrictions on emancipation were removed.

Maryland pursued the same course in 1783.

New York and New Jersey prohibited the importation of slaves, but took no measures for the extinction of slavery within their limits till some years later,

North Carolina, in 1786, declared the introduction of slaves into that State of "evil consequences and highly impolitic."

In 1792, New Hampshire abolished slavery after the manner of Massachusetts.

The number of slaves in New England at the time measures of abolition were taken, must have been less than 5,000, worth in the aggregate $1,000,000 more or less.

At this period, the most genuine feeling of dislike to the institution of slavery appears to have existed in those southern States where the number of slaves was the greatest, but whose material interests required its toleration and protection for the time being. The exports from Charleston, S. C., then exceeded those of any other port in the country, being something like $3,000,000 in amount.

But in the North, slavery on the soil was suffered to die a natural, peaceful death, and it was consigned to an economical tomb under the auspices of professions of justice and humanity, somewhat carelessly mingled with legal obsequies.

Not so the *slave trade*. With the powerful political motive in the North to prevent the increase of slaves in the South, each 50,000 of which gave a representative to the federal Congress, every northern State that voted on the question of making it unconstitutional to abolish the slave trade before 1808, except Pennsylvania and New Jersey, States having little or no interest in that branch of commerce, voted *aye*. The slave trade clause was carried by the votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, against Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The opposition of Virginia was very decided, inasmuch as the slave trade was not for her interest, the migration of her surplus slave population to other States having already commenced. Mr. MADISON was very strenuous that the slave trade should be limited to the year 1800, but he was overruled by precisely the same parties that are now known as Abolitionists in the North and Secessionists in the South.

How exceedingly interesting it is to follow the crooks and turns of human interests and human prejudices.

Rhode Island, whose interest in the slave trade exceeded that of any other State, was not represented in the Convention that framed the Constitution, but she ratified it May 29th, 1790.

Seven-eighths of all the slaves imported into the colonies, and subsequently into the States, from first to last, legally up to 1808, and illegally for twenty years after, were imported for account of and by British subjects and northern United States citizens, the importations being about equally divided between the two nationalities.

Leaving the British out of the question for the present, we argue that more might be said for the justice and humanity, and less for the thrift of the New England communities, especially those given to commerce, had they not, after purging their soil of the unprofitable sin of slave labor, clung with such unyielding tenacity to another and the most profitable branch of the business—the *slave trade*.

But in ravishing Africa of the heathen descendants of HAM, and transporting them to Christian countries, where, as the servants of the sons of Japhet, they could enjoy the light of the Gospel, the ancient and deep-rooted idea that God's work was being done may have been the principal incentive that actuated northern citizens in following up that peculiar branch of commerce in human flesh so perseveringly. Let this be as it may, the charitable mantle of oblivion might with propriety be cast over the past, but for the very sudden change of certain sections in the North from slave trading as God's work, to Abolitionism as God's work. Impartial history can never speak of that sudden change as legitimate or honest. It now appears as though its results to the country at large would prove disastrous in the extreme.

In our remarks relative to the abolition of slavery in the northern States, we have not made mention of any particular State or section for the purpose of instituting invidious comparisons. No, nothing of the kind is intended. Such remarks as we have made on the subject, we consider applicable to all portions of the North that may be regarded as abolitionized, and we have said nothing except in the spirit of candor and justice, having no earthly motive to gratify except that which prompts us to do what little lies in our power to expose that spurious and cheap humanity which has its source in gall—which withers and destroys everything in life it touches, and upon which a great sectional party has acquired the administrative power in these dis-United States.

In 1787, the last Continental Congress, sitting in New York simultaneously with the Convention in Philadelphia which framed the present Federal Constitution, passed what is known as "*An ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio.*" The following is the last article contained in this ordinance :

> "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, where the parties shall be duly convicted."

Slavery was certainly national when it required special legislation to secure freedom in any part of the common territory.

The Ordinance passed unanimously. The territory referred to was that which had been ceded to the federation by Virginia. There does not appear to have been any particular excitement relative to the Ordinance. It passed unanimously, and it would appear as if by universal consent, that something like a balance of political power should be maintained between free and slave territory, that fatal provision in the Constitution giving a representative to Congress for every 50,000 slaves, doubtless being the secret, if not the openly declared cause; and though nothing like what now constitutes a sectional party existed in those days, the line then drawn has been made a sectional line by the Abolition-republican party of the present day.

Agreeably to the provision in the Constitution of the United States, permitting the abolition of the slave trade in 1808, Congress passed a law making the importation of negro slaves illegal from that period.

The first act for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State of New York, was passed March 22, 1799.

On the 9th of April, 1813, the legislature of that State passed "*An act concerning slaves and servants*," from which we extract the following:

> "I. Be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, That every negro, mulatto or mestee within this State, who is now a slave for life, shall continue such unless such slave shall be manumitted according to law; and that the baptizing of any slave shall not be deemed to be a manumission of such slave:
>
> "V. And be it further enacted, That no person held as a slave shall be imported, introduced or brought into this State, on any pretence whatever, by any person coming permanently to reside within this State for the space of nine months, shall be considered as having a permanent residence therein within the meaning of this act, but it shall not be construed to extend to such persons as may reside within this State for a shorter period: and if any person so held as slave, shall be imported, introduced or brought into this State, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he shall be and is hereby declared free: and any slave who shall have been imported, introduced or brought into this State

> contrary to the foregoing directions, since the first day of May, 1810, shall be and is hereby declared free.
>
> "VII. And be it further enacted, That every child born of a slave within this State after the fourth of July, in the year of our Lord 1799, shall be free, but shall remain the servant of the owner of his mother and the executors or administrators of such owner, in the same manner as if such child had been bound to service by the overseers of the poor, and shall contiuue in such service, if a male, until the age of twenty-eight years, and if a female, until the age of twenty-five years."

Under these provisions, slavery in the State of New York became entirely extinct about the year 1840.

February 24th, 1820, New Jersey passed an act for the gradual abolition of slavery, and other purposes respecting slaves.--*R. S.*, 380.

> "Every child born a slave within this State since the fourth day of July, 1804, or which shall hereafter be born as aforesaid, shall be free, but shall remain the servant of the owner of his mother, and the executors, administrators, or assigns of such owners, in the same manner as if such child had been bound to service by the trustees or overseers of the poor, and shall continue in such service, if a male, until the age of twenty-five years, and if female, until the age of twenty-one years."

The census of 1860 gave eight slaves as then living in New Jersey.

A bill prohibiting slavery in all that territory purchased of Louisiana, lying north of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, north latitude, and known as the Missouri Compromise, passed the Congress of the United States in 1821.

During the progress of these events in America, matters were taking a decided turn in certain parts of Europe, against the slave trade.

Christian VII., king of Denmark, or rather Frederick VI., who then ruled that kingdom as regent, took measures to abolish the slave trade in his dominions as early as 1792, and in 1803, the trade was declared abolished. The Danes owned the West India islands, St. Thomas and St. Croix; but owing to difficulties in suppressing the contraband traffic, the trade was not entirely suppressed until many years afterward.

In England, the abolition of the slave trade had become a subject of systematic agitation. It will be remembered that the Spanish *asiento* contract was obtained by Cadiz traders in 1773. England had also lost her American colonies, which somewhat curtailed her slave trading operations ; and during the war with the colonies, her general traffic in human flesh with all parts of America had materially declined. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, the humanitarians, GRANVILLE SHARPE and Mr. CLARKESON caused the subject to be brought before Parliament in 1786, and May 12th, 1789, Mr. WILBERFORCE moved a series of resolutions in Parliament, condemnatory of the traffic, and these resolutions passed. No practical result from this move was obtained, however, till after degrees of investigation and discussion had been reached and passed, and it was ascertained that the general interests of Great Britain and her American possessions, as well as those of justice and humanity, would be promoted by the non-importation of negro slaves. It required twenty years to bring English material interests up to the humanitarian resolutions passed by Parliament in 1789. In March, 1807, a bill abolishing the slave trade on and after January 1st, 1808, passed both houses of Parliament by a large majority.

France took measures to abolish the slave trade in 1814. In the treaty made with England at that time, LOUIS XVIII. declared in an additional article that he reciprocated the sentiments of England relative to a branch of commerce so repulsive to the principles of natural justice and contrary to the spirit of the age. It was fixed that the French should cease the traffic in five years from that date. In 1815, this stipulation was renewed, and in 1819, France, so far as she could by legislation, put a stop to the slave trade.

In 1814, Spain stipulated with England to abolish the slave trade in 1822.

Portugal, in 1815, also agreed with England that her slave trade should be abolished north of the equator, from that period, and everywhere in 1823.

It now becomes necessary to turn to another course of events in another part of the world.

While those measures tending to the extinction of slavery, which we have narrated, were being adopted, NAPOLEON was enacting his grand military drama in continental Europe. One of the direct consequences of the political changes caused in Europe, by NAPOLEON, was universal revolution throughout the Spanish American possessions, which, in the course of ten years, resulted in the complete overthrow and disappearance of the Spanish power on the American continent.

All of these Spanish American Revolutions commenced in 1810, and all had come to a successful close before 1825. One stupendous result of these revolutions was the elevation of over 7,000,000 aborigines from the level of brutes to that of human beings.

In the following account of slavery, its original status, peculiarities, and decline in the Spanish American possessions, the various countries will be taken up in the order of their political divisions.

MEXICO.

The Mexican revolution commenced Sept. 16th, 1810, and terminated Feb. 24th, 1821. A federal Constitution was adopted Oct. 4th, 1824.

In the plan of Iguala, under which independence was proclaimed and secured, Art. 3d declares that the people of Mexico were "united, without any distinction between Americans and Europeans;" and in Art. 11th, that, "The distinction of castes is abolished, which was made by the Spanish law, excluding them from the rights of citizenship. All the inhabitants of the country are citizens and equal, and the door of advancement is open to virtue and merit."

By Art. 36, of the Constitution of 1824, it is declared that, "The nation is bound to protect, by wise and just laws, civil liberty, personal security, prosperity, equality of legal rights, and all the other rights of the individuals who compose it."

In 1829, under the Presidency of General GUERRERO, the entire abolition of slavery was consummated by the following decree :

"The President of the United Mexican States to the Inhabitants of the same :

"Be it known—That, being desirous to signalize the anniversary of independence, in the year 1829, by an act of national justice and beneficence, which may redound to the advantage and support of so inestimable a good, which may further insure the public tranquillity ; which may tend to the agrandizement of the republic, and may reinstate an unfortunate portion of its inhabitants in the sacred rights which nature gave to them, and the nation should protect by wise and just laws, conformably with the dispositions of the thirtieth article of the constituent act, employing the extraordinary faculties which have been conceded to me, I have resolved to decree :

Art. 1.—"Slavery is, and shall remain abolished in the republic.

Art. 2.—"In consequence, those who have hitherto been regarded a slaves, are free.

Art. 3.—"Whensoever the condition of the treasury shall permit, the owners of the slaves shall be indemnified according to the terms which the law may dispose.

"GUERRERO.

"MEXICO, *Sept.* 15*th*, 1829."

Under the "Plan of Toluca," or Central Constitution of 1836, and the Presidency of Bustamente, a further decree was issued, as follows :

Art. 1. "Slavery is abolished, without any exception, throughout the whole republic.

Art. 2. "The owners of the slaves manumitted by the present law, or by the decree of Sept. 15, 1829, shall be indemnified for their interests in them, to be estimated according to the proofs which may be presented of their personal qualities ; to which effect, one appraiser shall be appointed by the Commissary General, or the person performing his duties, and another by the owner ; and in case of disagreement, a third, who shall be appointed by the respective constitutional alcalde ; and from the decision thus made there shall be no appeal. The indemnification mentioned in this article shall not be extended to the colonists of Texas, who may have taken part in the revolution in that department.

Art. 3. "The owners to whom the original documents drawn up with regard to the proofs mentioned in the preceding article, shall be delivered gratis, shall themselves present them to the Supreme Government, which will authorize the general treasury to issue to them the corresponding orders for the amount of their respective interests.

Art. 4. "The payment of the said orders shall be made in the manner which may seem most equitable to the government, with the view of reconciling the rights of individuals with the actual state of the public finances."
April 5th, 1837.

The Constitution of 1843, *Bases organicas de la Republica Mejicana*, of that year, declares, Title 2d, that:

"*No one is a slave in the territory of the nation*, and that any slave who may be introduced, shall be considered free, and remain under the protection of the laws."

The Constitution of 1847, which, in fact, is the old Federal Constitution of 1824, does not reënact this clause; but in the *Acta de Reformas* annexed to it, it is declared:

Art. 1st. "That *every Mexican*, either by birth or naturalization, who has attained the age of twenty years, who possesses the means of an honest livelihood, and who has not been condemned by legal process to any infamous punishment, *is a citizen* of the United Mexican States," and in Art. 5th, "In order to secure the *rights of man*, which the Constitution recognize, a law shall fix the guaranties of *liberty*, security, property and equality, which *all the inhabitants of the republic enjoy*, and shall establish the means to make them effective."

In the present Constitution of Mexico, that of 1857, we find the following:

Art. 2. "In the republic all are born free. Slaves that set foot upon the national territory recover, by that single act, their liberty, and have a right to the protection of the laws."

Art. 4. Every one is free to embrace the profession, industry or labor which pleases him, it being useful and honest, and to enjoy its products. Neither the one nor the other shall be interfered with, except through judicial sentence, when attacking the rights of a third party, or by an order of government, dictated in the terms prescribed by the law, when offending the rights of society.

Art. 5. No one shall be obliged to render personal service without just compensation, and without his full consent. The law shall not authorize any contract which has for its object the loss, or the irrevocable sacrifice of personal liberty, whether it be for the purpose of labor, of education, or religious vow. Neither shall there be authorized agreements by which an individual consents to his own banishment or disfranchisement."

The foregoing legislative acts in Mexico, have direct reference to *negro and mulatto* slaves. *Indian* slavery and its abolition will be noticed hereafter.

In 1530, considerable numbers of negro slaves were found in the State of Vera Cruz. As the country was explored and occupied by the Spaniards, this class of laborers came into demand, principally, to work the sugar plantations. Hence, in certain portions of the States of Vera Cruz, Puebla, Oajaca, Tabasco, Chiapas, Guerrero and Colima, the valleys of Cuernavaca, Cuautla etc., negro slaves in considerable numbers were employed for upward of two and a half centuries.

It cannot be said, however, that negro slavery in Mexico was ever carried out extensively, or proved much of a success. From the first of the eighteenth century to the latter part of the same, the institution was at the height of all the prosperity it ever enjoyed in that country ; and the number of negro slaves at any one time during this period, could not have exceeded 100,000.

The natives of Mexico, in numbers and hardihood, proved too much, even for the iron rigor of Spanish rule, and although millions were destroyed, enough remained—probably as many as could be managed—to serve the general purposes of labor throughout New Spain.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, we find the institution of negro slavery in Mexico tending to rapid decay. In the first place, the expense and risk of introducing negroes into those sections not immediately contiguous to Vera Cruz, had considerably increased; the Indians evinced more than ordinary restiveness, which had a bad effect on the negro ; and the negro slaves raised in the country, with their descendants by the Indians, called Zambos, were becoming vicious and unmanageable. Consequently, the demand for negroes fell off, and in certain sections measures were adopted to emancipate the negro slaves and work them under a system of free labor.

This experiment was fully and successfully tried on some of the largest sugar plantations. In the valleys of Cuernavaca and Cuautla Amilpas, the principal proprietors liberated a certain number of their slaves annually, and encouraged them to remain on the estates as free laborers. So successful did this system prove, that, on many of the largest estates in Cuernavaca, there was not a single negro slave in the year 1808. The policy of this measure became still more apparent in 1810, for as soon as the revolution broke out, those planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation were abandoned at once by their slaves, and forced, in some instances, to give up working their estates ; while those who had provided themselves, in time, with a mixed caste of free laborers, retained, even during the worst of times, a sufficient number of hands to enable them to cultivate their lands, although upon a reduced scale.

The labor of the estates in Mexico worked under the free system, proceeded without compulsion, anything like coercive measures being scarcely known. But such a mixture of negroes, Indians and Zambos was productive of a very low order of civilization.

We find in "Ward's Mexico," written in 1827, a comparison made between the result of free labor on sugar estates in Mexico, and slave labor on sugar estates in Cuba, as follows :

> "One hundred and fifty slaves are employed, in the island of Cuba, upon a plantation capable of producing one thousand cases, or 16,000 *arrobas** of sugar (vide Humboldt's *Essai Politique sur l'ile de Cuba*), while, in the valley of Cuautla, one hundred and fifty free laborers are found sufficient for a hacienda, which yields from 32 to 40,000 arrobas. Thus (supposing the expense in other respects to be the same), in the one case, the produce of each individual would be 2,666 lbs., and in the other 5,332 lbs., or even 6,666 lbs., taking the maximum of 40,000 arrobas. The correctness of this calculation depends of course upon the comparative fertility of the soil of the island of Cuba, and in the valley of Cuautla Amilpas, respecting which I am not competent to give an opinion. There is no reason, however, to suppose that there is any superiority in the soil of Cuautla, sufficiently great to account for so marked a difference in the amount of the sugar, raised by an equal number of laborers ; for the elevation of the valley above the level of the ocean, renders it impossible to apply Humboldt's estimate of the extraordinary fertility of Vera Cruz to the plantations of Cuautla or Cuernavaca."

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* An arroba is 25 pounds.

In view of the foregoing, let it not be said that the experiment of free negro labor in the tropics, on a large scale, was never successfully tried.

It is a curious fact, and worthy of note, that the process of gradually abolishing negro slavery commenced simultaneously in New England and the Spanish colonies of Mexico, for precisely the same cause, namely, the institution had become unprofitable.

In New England, slavery was abolished by law, while in Mexico, the measures taken to this end were voluntary on the part of the Spanish planters.

Here we find the cold and sterile North and the hot and fruitful tropics, the cool, calculating and thrifty New Englander, and the extravagant, showy, hard-hearted Spaniard—giving in their evidence against negro slavery and abolishing it as an unprofitable institution.

Before the Mexican revolution had terminated, in 1821, nearly every vestige of negro slavery in Mexico had disappeared. Many of the slaves fled, others were liberated, and when GUERRERO issued his decree of immediate and universal emancipation in 1829, there were not 10,000 negroes and mulattoes held as slaves throughout the entire republic, to take advantage of the liberty thus decreed.

In the northern tier of Mexican States, in Durango, San Luis Potosi, Jalisco, Michoacan, and Queretaro, the negro was rarely seen except as the servant of a Spaniard. Considerable numbers of mulattoes are found in the State of Guerrero. Some remain in the States of Oajaca, Tabasco and Chiapas. The term *Lobo* is generally applied to these mulattoes, from the peculiar tint of their complexion, which resembles that of the Mexican wolf called *Lobo*. In Vera Cruz and vicinity, a few negroes, and quite a number of mulattoes, known as *Jarochos*, are concentrated. In 1803, HUMBOLDT, in his classification of the inhabitants of the city of Mexico, gave 10,000 mulattoes. This race has disappeared, and the pure negro is not to be found on any of the table lands of the country. The dry and rarefied atmosphere of those regions is destructive to his race.

We do not believe there is enough negro blood in all Mexico to make 20,000 pure negroes, notwithstanding a prominent legislator very gravely remarked to us recently, that he calculated one-third of the Mexican population was of the pure negro race, which would give about 2,500,000 negroes to the republic.

The question of reëstablishing or extending negro slavery over Mexico, which is now a prominent subject of agitation in the public mind, can be disposed of in very few words.

The Cordilleras occupy the great central portion of Mexico, leaving a strip of low land on either coast, narrow and irregular in outline, known as the *tierra caliente;* and these low lands are cut up at frequent intervals by mountain ridges and spurs—the whole being of volcanic formation. Now the apostles of the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine must make it appear in the first place, that the slavery propagandists can cause the Mexican Cordilleras, the backbone of the country, with all the detached spurs and ridges, to sink into the earth, and leave in their place, low, hot, moist and rich plains. Next, the irrepressibles must prove that the slavery extensionists can speedily annihilate some seven or eight millions of Mexicans, who, in their turn, will fight for freedom to the last drop of their blood. And lastly, it must be made to appear that the slave trade can be opened, and the price of good field hands reduced to $200. All this being accomplished, slavery extension into Mexico might stand some chance.

Take comfort, then, Ó ye simple-minded natives in the North, who have been taught to shiver and shake in holy horror of slavery extension. Eschew the gospel of uneasiness and be comforted. Do not attempt to take the Higher Law into your own hands, to work out the end the Higher Law had already accomplished some time before you came into existence. The only difficulty is, you do not acknowledge the Higher Law, whose commands you pretend to obey. Cast aside, therefore, your superstitious notions; eschew Abolition, Jacobin teachings, and study our frontiers —Mexico, *nature*, GOD. If you cannot bring yourselves right on the subject, train up your children in the way they should go, and let us have some hope that the next generation will repair the national mischief perpetrated by the present.

THE SUBJECT OF INDIAN SLAVERY IN MEXICO, AND THE Spanish American countries generally, while under the rule of Spain, requires some notice here.

No sooner did the natives of the West India islands become acquainted with the Spaniards who thronged to their shores immediately on the discovery, than they began to evince a very strong and very natural aversion to the strangers. LAS CASAS declared that the Indians shunned the Spaniards as naturally as "sparrows the sparrowhawk." This led to coercive measures on the part of the Spaniards, looking at first to intercourse simply, but which soon resulted in the forcible subjugation of the natives, the natural and speedy consequence of which was their abasement to a horribly destructive system of slavery. The peculiarly ingenious manner in which the Spaniards blended deviltry with piety, and which cannot now be called one of the "lost arts," caused them to look upon the Indians as cattle with souls. They hunted the poor natives, subjugated them, and worked up their bodies that their souls might enter paradise ; the idea of which, when told that he would meet Christians there, drove a famous cacique to such despair that he went and hung himself.

In 1495, COLUMBUS sent back to Spain from Hispaniola, four ships loaded with Indian slaves.

In 1496, BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS sent to Spain 300 Indian slaves from Hispaniola.

In 1498, COLUMBUS sent to Spain, in five vessels, 600 Indian slaves. All these Indians were captured in the island of Hispaniola by Spanish war parties.

COLUMBUS, in his letters to LOS REYES, estimates that, "in the name of the sacred Trinity," there may be sent as many slaves as sale could be found for in Spain, and that the value of the slaves, for whom there would be a demand to the number of 4,000, as he calculated from certain information, and of the logwood, would amount to forty *cuentos*, equivalent to about $60,000. It was also proposed at this time to exchange Indian slaves for goods wanted from the mother country.

In the year 1497, letters patent were issued from LOS REYES, authorizing *repartimientos*, or partitions of lands in the Indies to the colonizing Spaniards. Following upon this system of dividing up the lands, regulations that the lands so divided should be cultivated by the Indians under the direction of their caciques, were established. An improvement upon this system was soon devised, namely, stocking the lands with Indian slaves who should belong to the estate and perform the labor thereof. Later, a new form of *repartimiento* is found. ANTONIO DE LEON the jurist, defines it as follows:

> " *Repartimiento* in New Spain, is that which is made every week of the Indians who are given for mines and works by the judges for that purpose (*los Juezes Repartidores*), for which the *pueblos* contribute throughout the twenty weeks of the year, what they call a *dobla* (a Spanish coin), at the rate of ten Indians for every hundred ; and the remainder of the year what they call a *sencilla* (another Spanish coin), at the rate of two Indians for every hundred. The above rate was for works and cultivation of land. When it was for mines, to work for which particular *pueblos* were set aside, it was a contribution for the whole year, at the rate of four Indians for every hundred !"

At an early day, a simple division of Indians was made among the colonists, giving to one 50, to another 100, to another 500, to another 1,000, etc., in *encomienda*, as it was called, after the following form, or deed as first given by OVANDO, governor of Hispaniola, in 1503 :

> " To you, such a one, is given an *encomienda* of so many Indians with such a cacique, and you are to teach them the things of our holy faith."

A correspondence between OVANDO, governor of Hispaniola, and their majesties, touching the Indians at this time, is worthy of note, as involving a variety of interests, and the kind of freedom decreed to the Indians.

OVANDO wrote that the Indians fled from the Spaniards and could not be induced to hold intercourse with them ; all of which proved a decided hindrance to their conversion and seriously retarded the prosperity of the colony. To which their majesties replied, directing OVANDO to *compel* the Indians to have dealings with the Spaniards, *and work on such terms as he might think fit*. It was further ordered that the Indians should go and hear mass and be instructed in the faith; and that they should do all these things "*as free persons, for so they are.*"

The word *encomienda* originally implied a "Commandery in a military order," but in its application to the division of Indians, it signified a preceptory charge. Later, we find the Spanish jurists thus defining the *institution*:

> "*Encomienda* is a right conceded by royal bounty (*á merced y voluntad del Rey*) to well-deserving persons in the Indies, to receive and enjoy for themselves the tributes of the Indians who should be assigned to them, with a charge of providing for the good of those Indians in spiritual and temporal matters, and of inhabiting and defending the provinces where these *encomiendas* should be granted to them."

In such language as this were the aborigines found in America by the Spaniards, condemned to unmitigated body and soul-crushing slavery, the profits arising from the system being divided between the crown, the church, and the lordly *encomiendero*.

At an early date, the capitation tax was established, by which each Indian was required to pay a sum varying from three to fifteen dollars per annum. Then came the terrible *Mita* law, by which a certain number of Indians were required to labor by turns in the mines and produce a stated amount. The sufferings caused the Indians by this law are almost beyond belief. Some of the mining districts in various parts of Spanish America were nearly depopulated by it, and in consequence, this law was mitigated from time to time, and finally declared abolished during the latter part of the reign of CHARLES III.

The policy of Spain was to create a market in her American colonies for her own products and manufactures—to supply them with provisions as well as fabricated goods—and receive in return, the largest possible amount that could be extracted from the mines. The commerce and trade growing out of all this was secured to the Spaniards as a monopoly ; and to support the colonial government and keep up the flow of treasure into the royal coffers, the *industry* of the colonies was taxed. The contrivance of Spain was to aggrandize herself at the expense of the common rights of humanity ; and among the millions of aborigines who toiled under Spanish domination, the fell purpose of this contrivance was wrought out, causing an amount of human woe that the mind of man cannot compass.

It is the general custom among writers to condemn the *Spanish colonists* for their cruel treatment of the Indians, and hold the *government* of Spain excusable. By giving certain extracts from *Las Leyes de las Indias*, the Acts of the Council of the Indias, and royal decrees, in which the Indians are declared *hombres libres*, and otherwise spoken of as persons who must be protected and favored, the general impression is created that the government of Spain is in no very great degree, responsible for the cruel treatment of the Indians by the conquerors and colonists of Spanish America. We take a contrary view of this matter, and believe the responsibility of nearly all the dire evils brought upon the Indians by the Spanish adventurers, is directly chargeable upon the home government.

After the conquerors of Spanish America had killed off a great many millions of the aborigines, and thus reduced their numbers to a manageable figure, it became apparent to the crown that a stop must be put to the further wholesale destruction of the Indians, in order that laborers might be had to develop what was regarded as the great resource of the New World, namely, the mines. Negroes could not be made available for this purpose, and therefore it became necessary to preserve enough of the native population to meet that requirement.

This population being brought into the work, it became necessary to guard against *émeutes* and rebellions, that the hazard of holding the colonial possessions and the expense of maintaining their government, might not be unduly augmented. It became necessary, therefore, to reduce the intelligence and position of the Indians to as near the level of the brute as possible, and at the same time have a care not to so oppress, as to drive to that desperation which will cause humanity, even of the lowest order, to turn upon the oppressor.

To meet these necessities in a pious way, the laws of Spain regulating the Indians of the colonies, appear to have been framed. For every clause tending to protect and favor the Indian, there were two holding him to the most abject servitude.

It may be said that the slavery of the Spanish-American Indians on the continent, was of a harsher character than that of the negroes, inasmuch as the negro, who had cost 300 or 400 dollars cash, was valued higher and treated with more consideration than the native Indian, whose first cost was the catching and breaking in, and who was held to the soil by ties of association and kindred.

The intellectual capacities of the Indians of Mexico were naturally of a finer and far higher order than those of the negro, and for this reason, it was necessary to practise greater cruelty and enforce more systematic degradation upon the Indian, in order to keep him under, than upon the negro.

There was only one exception to this rule. The absolute sale of Indians for transfer from country to country and point to point, almost entirely ceased after the West India islands were supplied with negroes. This did not form a part of the system on the continent, as the removal of the Indians from where they were born and reared, would break the strongest tie by which they were held in bondage. In this respect, it must be said that the *status* of the Indian slave in the Spanish possessions on the continent, was different from that of the negro slave. It fell to the lot of the Spanish-American Indian to live and die a wretched slave to rapacious, foreign task-masters, in the land of his birth, the home of his race.

The following is an extract from the writings of LAS CASAS:

> "As for the continent it is certain, and what I myself know to be true, that the Spaniards have ruined ten kingdoms there, bigger than all Spain, by the commission of all sorts of barbarity and unheard of cruelties. They have driven away or killed all the inhabitants, so that all these kingdoms are desolate to this day (1560), and reduced to a most deplorable condition, though this was the best peopled country in the world. We dare assert, without fear of exaggerating, that in the space of those 40 years in which the Spaniards exercised their intolerable tyranny in this New World, they unjustly put to death above 12,000,000 of people, counting men, women and children; and it may be affirmed, without injury to truth, upon a just calculation, that during this space of time above 50,000,000 have died in these countries."

The general truth of LAS CASAS' statements cannot be doubted; but it is to be hoped that his stupendous numerals are exaggerations.

We have given 7,000,000 as the number of Indian slaves liberated by the Spanish American revolutions. This is probably a low estimate. In 1823, Humboldt estimated the Indian population of Spanish America, the civilized or settled Indians, as they are called, to be 7,530,000. The number must have been considerably greater in 1810, when the revolution first broke out. General MILLER estimates the number of human beings destroyed by the sword in Spanish America between 1810 and 1825, at 1,000,000! MILLER, though a partisan, was considered candid and well informed. The Indians were destroyed by thousands on the slightest pretext. It has been stated on good authority that MORILLO shed more blood in one year, in the single State of Venezuela, than was shed in the thirteen North American colonies during the seven years of their Revolutionary struggle.

It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that the Spanish American revolutions broke the fetters of 7,000,000 of human beings, and raised them from the brute level to that of humanity. Of this number, something more than half must be allotted to Mexico.

One of the human beings thus liberated and elevated, is Benito Juarez, President of the republic of Mexico, a pure Indian, and said to be of the Toltec race, driven from Anahuac by the Aztecs—he who has clung to the last hope of his race and nation with a tenacity that death alone could relax, and by his unyielding determination, pure patriotism, and incorruptible integrity, guided the nation through a desperate and bloody revolution—the only real revolution they have had in Mexico since the independence—and saved his country.

Away down in Oajaca, where the winds sweep through the tall cypress in mournful sighs, and the stupendous and gloomy surroundings of nature invite to profound and melancholy repose, is Mitla. The signification of this word in the Indian language of the country, is, *the place of sadness ;* and here are found the extraordinary remains of what are known as the sepulchral palaces of the ancient kings of Mexico. From this region comes President Juarez. Rising as it were from the tombs of his ancestors, he liberates his country from the evils imposed upon it by a nation not as old as those visible remains of the sepulchres of his own race. In Juarez we see a mysterious connection between the unknown, dead Past, and the living Present. In Juarez we see the romance and the reality of Mexico.

At the conclusion of the Mexican war of independence in 1821, the Spanish *régime* by which the Indians were held in bondage under the *encomiendas* and *repartimientos*, the laws of tribute, distinction of castes, etc., disappeared. The *Plan of Iguala*, proclaimed 1821, says in Article 11 : "The distinction of castes is abolished, which was, by the Spanish law, excluding them from the rights of citizenship." This referred to the Indians. The decree of Guerrero in 1829 referred to negro slaves, and whatever may have been the faults of the Mexican nation since it cast off the Spanish yoke, the numerous extracts that have been given from their various constitutions and decrees, evince a deep and undying hatred to the system of involuntary servitude, and an unequivocal denial of the doctrine that man has a right to hold property in man.

Peonage, which some characterize as a species of masked slavery, is a system by which the labor of the country is regulated, having been established by the Mexican government since the war of independence. This peonage is not masked slavery, nor is there anything of slavery attached to the system. The Mexican peon can be one of the most independent laboring men in existence, if he chooses; or he can enjoy the luxury of being in debt.

YUCATAN.

This former Captain-Generalship having joined with Mexico in the war of independence, became incorporated with that republic under the federal Constitution of 1824, and consequently, has been governed by the same legislation as Mexico.

Negro slavery scarcely ever had existence in Yucatan.

GUATEMALA.

On the 21st September, 1821, the Captain-Generalship of Guatemala became an independent State, and united itself with the republic of Mexico; but on the 1st July, 1823, it became a separate government, and eventually the confederation of the five Central American States of Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, with the territory of the Mosquito, was formed.

A constitution for the new republic was adopted by the National Assembly on the 22d of November, 1824.

Squire's Nicaragua says:

> "The Constitution of 1824 contained guaranties of individual rights, the representative principle, habeas corpus, and the liberty of the press.
>
> "Among the acts of the Assembly which formed the Constitution was a Decree issued on the 17th April, 1824, abolishing slavery absolutely and at once, and providing against its reëstablishment at any time or in any part of the republic.
>
> "The slave trade was declared to be piracy, and the heaviest penalties were declared against all persons who should engage in it directly or indirectly.
>
> "To the Republic of Central America, therefore, belongs the glory of having

> been the first country in the world to abolish negro slavery. And to the policy marked out by its first constituent assembly, it has ever and faithfully adhered. It was the adoption of this measure which led to its first dispute with Great Britain, that loud-mouthed advocate of philanthropy, when philanthropy is profitable, and never otherwise.
>
> "Will it be credited, that as late as 1840, a claim enforced by vessels of war, was made against Central America by the British Government, for slaves who had fled from Belize, and secured their freedom under the Constitution of Central America? Yet such is the fact—the black, damning fact."

In all the republic of Central America, negro slavery never attained to any great extent. Very few negroes and but little evidence of negro blood can now be found in Guatemala, or the Central American states.

In 1838, the confederacy was dissolved, Guatemala, as well as other states, becoming independent republics.

NEW GRANADA.

In 1810, the Spanish authority in the Vice-Royalty of New Granada and Captain-Generalship of Venezuela, was thrown off, and an incessant war against that power maintained until 1824, when the Spaniards were finally vanquished.

In 1819, the Congress of Angostura met, and the Republic of Colombia was proclaimed, in which Venezuela was united with New Granada, and on the 30th August, 1821, a federal Constitution was adopted.

This union, however, lasted only ten years. In November, 1829, Venezuela seceded from the republic, and in May, 1830, the province now known as Ecuador, also withdrew.

The central part of Colombia then constituted itself the republic of New Granada, by a decree adopted on the 21st November, 1831, and in 1832 a new Constitution was proclaimed, which, in 1842–3 was revised, and was afterward known as the reformed Constitution of 1843.

A Report by the Minister of the Interior of the republic of Colombia, presented to the National Congress on the 22d

April, 1823 (when Venezeula and Ecuador were included in the republic), says, under the head of "Slavery":

> "The law of 21st July, 1821, gave liberty to the children of female slaves, abolished the trade in negroes, and the boards of manumission have since been in activity throughout the republic."

In December of the same year (1823), the period fixed for the liberation of slaves by purchase, it was carried into effect, and the Legislature of Colombia received the blessings of thousands restored to the condition of men.

By a law of the Congress of the republic of Colombia, passed on the 18th of February, 1825, the slave trade was declared piracy, and made punishable with death.

The first General Congress of Colombia passed the following law with reference to the Indian population, 11th October, 1821:

> "Art. 1. The *Indigenos* of Colombia, called Indians in the Spanish code, shall not in the future pay the impost known by the degrading name of 'tribute,' nor shall they be obliged to render any service or labor to any class of persons without the payment of just compensation, which shall be stipulated beforehand.
>
> "They shall be in all respects equal to other citizens, and shall be protected by the same laws."

All these laws and provisions of the former republic of Colombia and of New Granada, with regard to slavery and the rights of the Indians, were reaffirmed by and incorporated into the revised code of laws of New Granada, which went into effect on the 1st of October, 1843.

VENEZUELA.

This Captain-Generalship having united with the Vice-Royalty of New Granada in the revolution of 1810, became a part of the republic of Colombia, and was regulated by the Constitution of 1821, and subsequent laws, by which the abolition of slavery was consummated the same as in other States of the Republic.

PERU.

The Peruvian revolution commenced in 1810 and the independence of the country was proclaimed on the 28th of July, 1821. Among the first legislative acts of the new government was a decree which declared that the children of slaves born in Peru after the 28th July, 1821, should be free.

This was followed by another, abolishing the tribute, and enacting that the aborigines be thenceforth denominated Peruvians like the creoles.

In Art. 152 of the first Constitution of Peru it is declared that no one is born a slave in the republic, neither does any one enter from other countries who is not made free when he treads on Peruvian soil.

Should any Peruvian be found guilty of importing slaves into the republic for the purpose of traffic, the Constitution declares that he shall be deprived of his rights of citizenship. The internal traffic, however, continued up to 1855, though it was confined to buying and selling such slaves as existed in the country before the war of independence began, or to such of their offspring as were born before the year 1820, when Peru was no longer the acknowledged patrimony of the Spaniards.

By decree of the Constitutional Government of Peru, in 1855, slavery was finally and entirely abolished, and the capitation tax to which the Indians had been subjected since the time of the Spaniards was made to cease.

The government of Peru obligated itself to pay for the negro slaves, some 25,000 in number, liberated by the decree of 1855.

As in Mexico, negro slavery in Peru was confined to a few agricultural districts of limited extent. The principal districts were Ica, Cañeta, Santa, Huacho, and the neighborhood of the capital.

The Indians only were employed to work the mines. These are located in the higher regions, where the negro does not thrive. We have stated that negro slaves were never taken by the Spaniards to work the mines on the continent.

CHILI.

The revolution was commenced, and a Provisional Government established in Chili in 1810. Independence was declared on the 12th February, 1818.

The present Constitution was adopted on the 25th May, 1833.

By this Constitution, slavery is abolished forever, the slave trade forbidden under severe penalties, and every person who treads the soil of the republic is declared free.

No stranger engaged in the slave trade is permitted to reside in Chili.

LA PLATA

In 1816, the Constitutional Assembly of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata declared those countries independent of Spain, and in 1821, the Spanish troops were finally expelled.

In 1824, the independence of the Provinces of the La Plata was recognized by the English government.

The slave trade was abolished under severe penalties, by a decree of the first Constitutional Assembly of the Provinces in 1813.

During the war of independence, slavery in the Provinces became nearly extinct, mainly by liberations. Entire regiments were formed of the blacks thus liberated, and under the name of *libertos*, they were enrolled in the service of the republic. At one time their numbers reached as high as 5,000.

The slaves had also the privilege of buying their freedom at any time, by paying the original purchase money. By these means, slavery was gradually and quietly extinguished in the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

BRAZIL.

(*Originally Portuguese.*)

We have not included some 300,000 Brazilian Indians, in our enumeration of Indian slaves liberated by the revolutions of 1810 on the continent. At first, the Portuguese enslaved the Indians in Brazil, and their system of slavery was as burdensome and destructive as that of the Spaniards ; but there appears to have been a determined and partially successful action, on the part of the Portuguese government, to protect the aborigines of Brazil.

By a decree of the Portuguese government, in 1755, the natives of Brazil were declared free and entitled to the name and all the rights of citizens ; and though this had very little effect in elevating that degraded class, and though, in certain localities, considerable numbers of the natives continued in abject servitude, it cannot be said that the few hundred thousand Indians scattered throughout the vast empire of Brazil were slaves (like the Spanish-American Indians) when Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1822, and commenced her new political career, under a constitutional hereditary monarchy, with Dom Pedro I. as emperor.

Until quite recently, no light shade can be given to the history of slavery in Brazil. That country has been one immense grave-yard for Africans. The short run from the coast of Africa to Brazilian ports, the great extent of country adapted to negro labor, and the destructive system under which slaves were worked, induced, from the commencement of its occupation by the Portuguese, an extravagant importation of negro slaves ; and it is only within ten years that this traffic in Brazil has yielded to the spirit of the age.

The number of negro slaves imported into Brazil from Africa between 1530 and 1850, a period of 320 years, we estimate as follows :

	Average per annum.	
From 1530 to 1600 . . .	5,000	300,000
From 1600 to 1700 . . .	15,000	1,500,000
From 1700 to 1800 . . .	20,000	2,000,000
From 1800 to 1820 . . .	30,000	600,000
From 1830 to 1840 . . .	85,000	850,000
From 1840 to 1850 . . .	50,000	500,000
Total in 320 years		5,750,000

The abolition of the slave trade by the civilized nations, had the effect to concentrate, in a great measure, the expiring struggles of this infernal traffic on the shores of Brazil. The capacities of the country to consume negroes, and its favorable location for the trade, caused it to be a popular rendezvous of the *contrabandistas.* The trade raged with great fury from 1830 to 1850, when the public mind became suddenly aroused from its torpid state on the subject, and the trade came suddenly to an end. In 1850, in accordance with the English treaty, the government of Brazil instituted measures to prevent the landing of slaves on its shores ; and so vigorously and successfully were those measures carried out, that in three years the slave trade was completely suppressed. For many years the importation of negro slaves into Brazil had averaged 50,000 per annum. In 1840, the number reached 100,000. In 1853, there was not a single disembarkation. In 1856, a slaver, cruising along the coast with a cargo of negroes, did not succeed in selling a single slave, though she touched at five different points.

The great and sudden change that has recently taken place in Brazil, relative not only to the slave trade but to the slave labor in the country, is very remarkable, and preëminently significant of the rapid decline and speedy downfall of commercial slavery on the American continent.

Says Mr. Fletcher, in his interesting work, "*Brazil and the Brazilians,*" "Slavery is doomed in Brazil."

It is easy to perceive that the institution has but a sickly existence in the public mind in Brazil, and that the better quality and greater economy of free labor are rapidly gaining on slave labor in that vast empire.

We give an extract from the MEXICAN PAPERS, No. 4, page 164, which properly comes in here :

> "By the Brazilian law, a slave can, at any time, appear before a magistrate, have his price fixed, and purchase his freedom. There is a system of colonization in progress, intended to supply the gradually diminishing quantity of slave labor, and the statesmen of the empire are said to be devoting much time and attention to discover the best means of promoting immigration. Germany, Portugal, the Azores and Madeira are constantly supplying laborers, attracted by the prospect which Brazil holds out to them, and there seems to be no doubt that the free African population will eventually fully suffice for these occupations in a tropical country for which the white race is necessarily unfitted.
>
> "For more than three hundred years, the entire agricultural and manufacturing interests of Brazil, from north to south, from east to west, have been based on slave labor. The institution of slavery has entered more thoroughly into the industrial system of Brazil than it has into that of the United States. Natural causes favor the system of slave labor in Brazil more than they do in the United States, and though the number of slaves in the former country reaches 3,000,000, the institution of slavery is steadily and surely coming to an end in that empire."

The rapid decline of commercial slavery in Brazil, without abolition societies, abolition journals, or any of that peculiar abolition venom which infects the northern part of this country, is a subject worthy of profound reflection. Neither abolitionists nor slavery propagandists can find any comfort in Brazil. Nature and the laws of society are working out the problem of slavery in that country, in a manner not at all favorable to the peculiar ideas or interests of the extreme wing of either of the two great political parties in this country.

Left to herself, uncursed by an army of howling abolition fanatics, and knowing nothing of licentious liberty in politics, Brazil, that vast empire, which, perhaps, fills the blackest space in the great black page of American history, is rapidly emerging from the dark past, and apparently entering upon a grand and prosperous future.

The government of Brazil finds it extremely difficult to obtain an accurate census of the population of the country, particularly of the aboriginal portion. This class in the interior are very suspicious that taking their number has something to do with taxation or enlistment for soldiers ; and while they will assist in obtaining an account of the deaths that take place, they will fight before allowing a register of births to be kept, or anything, in fact, to indicate the names, numbers, and condition of the living.

The following is the government estimate of the population in Brazil, in 1856.

White population	2,000,000
Free mixed do. Mulattoes, etc.	1,121,000
Civilized aboriginal do.	800,000
Mixed slave do.	600,000
African slave do.	2,600,000
	7,121,000

The population of Brazil has materially changed its relative proportions since 1856.

Mr. Fletcher mentions as a striking fact "that emigrants did not begin to arrive from Europe by thousands until 1852. In 1850–51, the slave trade was annihilated, and in the succeeding year commenced the present comparatively vigorous colonization. Each year the number of colonists is increasing."

The free white population must have largely increased, while the slave population, diminished by the annihilation of the slave trade, emancipation, etc., in equal, if not greater proportion. The aggregate population of Brazil must be more than 9,000,000, and of this, the slave population can scarcely reach 3,000,000 ; and unless some unforeseen and unfortunate change takes place, this disproportion between the free and slave population of the country will continue and speedily extinguish the latter.

GUIANA.

British Guiana.—Slavery abolished in 1834. See British West Indies, page 247.

Population, whites, 96,467; negroes, 14,251; creoles, 7,682.

French Guiana.—Slavery abolished in French Guiana, 1848. See French West Indies, page 253.

Population, 17,625.

Dutch Guiana.—Slavery abolished by the Dutch in 1851, but as a compensation to the owners, the negroes were to work as apprentices till the year 1863.

Population: whites, 12,000; negroes, 40,000.

SLAVERY IN CANADA.

On commencing this publication, we addressed a communication to a friend in Canada, requesting him to give such information as he might be able to obtain respecting the original status and extent of the institution of slavery in Canada, and its abolition, for publication in our pages. These inquiries, it appears, have brought out a very interesting historical sketch of slavery as it existed in Canada, and its abolition, in the *Toronto Patriot*, which we publish as a valuable historical record pertinent to our subject. We also publish a private communication on the same subject.

R. Hadfield, Esq., of Buffalo, and other gentlemen in Canada, to whom we are indebted for this information, will please accept our thanks.

The communications were received too late to have place in their regular geographical order.

From the Toronto Patriot.

"There are thousands of persons in Canada who would be insulted if told that there are points, connected with the history of this country, on which they are not well informed; and who are scarcely conscious that slavery ever existed in Canada. If they know the general fact, they probably conclude rather that the slavery was permissible in Canada than that it ever existed here. They would be astounded if told that slavery existed in Canada for more than a century; and yet such is the fact. The Montreal Historical Society, in two of its *livraisons*, has collected the principal documents which bear on *l'esclavage en Canada*.

"It was in the year of the English revolution, 1688, that the first steps were taken towards the introduction of slavery into Canada, Messieurs DE DENONVILLE, Governor, and DE CHAMPIGNY, Intendant of Canada, addressed the French Secretary of State on the desirability of introducing slavery into Canada. The scarcity and dearness of laborers and domestic servants were represented as so great as to ruin any one who undertook any enterprise. The best means of remedying this state of things was represented to be the introduction of negro slaves. Next year, 1689, the minister replied that His Majesty thought it would be well for the inhabitants of Canada to introduce negroes to cultivate the soil ; at the same time a fear was expressed that if negroes were brought from a climate so different they would perish, and the project would thus be found to be useless. Under the *Coutume de Paris*, negroes had been treated as chattels in the French West India islands; and it was decided, in 1705, that they were to be regarded in the same light in Canada. The non-slaveholding portion of the population. even at this early day, used to instill abolition ideas into the minds of the slaves; and frequently enticed them to leave their masters. On the 13th April, 1709, an ordinance, directed against this practice, was passed. This ordinance declared it to be the good pleasure of His Majesty that 'all Panis and Negroes who had been purchased, and who might in future be purchased, should be the property of those by whom they were purchased, as being their slaves.' Panis*—savages, we are told, thus named, whose nation is far from Canada—and negroes were forbidden to leave their masters, and whoever 'debauched' them with ideas of liberty were made liable to a fine of fifty livres. Individual holders of slaves occasionally granted them their liberty; and on the 1st Sept., 1736, an ordinance was passed laying down a form to be followed in such cases. In 1748, an *arrêt* of the Council of the King was passed at Quebec, declaring the exclusive property of His Majesty all slaves who escape from British to French territory. In 1686, a treaty had been concluded at London, between England and France, in which, among other things, it was stipulated that the subjects of each country, in America, should not entice away the slaves belonging to the subjects of the other. This was three or four years before slaves were introduced into Canada ; but they existed in the French West Indies and the British colonies on the main land. In the capitulation of Montreal, 1760, it was provided 'that the negroes and Panis of both sexes should remain in their quality of slaves, in possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belonged;' and their owners were to be 'free to keep them in their service in the colony or to sell them.' They might also continue to bring them up in the Roman Catholic religion.

"Wherever slavery exists there will be desertions ; and even in these early times, persons were willing to facilitate such escapes. In 1732, a French captain, Le Sieur JOANNE, brought to Canada a slave whom he had engaged as a sailor ; and while the vessel was there the slave escaped. He was found after a while in the parish of St. Augustin, where he was demanded ; but we are told in an ordinance of Intendant Hocquart, February 8, 1734, 'that some evil disposed persons facilitated the escape of the said slave.' The captain applied to the government, who issued an order for the arrest of the fugitive, wherever he might be ; all militia officers were ordered to assist in the arrest, and an arbitrary fine was denounced against whoever should facilitate his escape or conceal him. The spirit of revenge sometimes fired the breasts of Canadian slaves. A negress, the slave of Madame Francheville, who had been purchased in one of the neighboring English colonies, set fire to her mistress' house, on the 11th of April, 1734 ; by which a part of the town of Montreal was burnt, and for which the slave was hanged.

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* Panis is the generic name for all Indians or half-breed Indian slaves—not for any distinct tribe or nation.

"At least one Canadian newspaper, which still exists, used to contain advertisements of slaves for sale ; very similar to advertisements which may now be any day read in the journals of the Southern States. The *Quebec Gazette*, of March 18, 1784, contained, among its advertisements, this notice : 'For sale. A negress, now in town. For price, address Madame Perrault.' And in the number of March 25, of the same year : 'For sale. A negro about twenty-five years of age, who has had the smallpox ;' and who was, therefore, in future, safe from that disease. 'For full particulars inquire of the printer.' Negroes taken in battle, after the conquest of Canada, were not treated as prisoners of war, but were taken to Montreal and sold. There is a deposition to this effect, dated July 16, 1788.

"As the French law had given a monopoly of the slave trade in the French colonies to French vessels, an act of the British Parliament was passed in 1790, by which it was provided that 'subjects of the United States' might remove to Canada, and import their negroes with them in British vessels.

"One of the first uses that Upper Canada made of the legislative powers conferred on it in 1791, was to put an end to the importation of slaves ; to provide that all the children of slaves thereafter born in the province should be entitled to their freedom at the age of twenty-five years, and that no person should be bound to service for a longer term than nine years. The slaves then in the province were not liberated, but continued in their servile condition to the end of their lives. This was in 1793, two years after the passing of the Constitution Act. At one stroke the slave-trade was arrested, so far as Upper Canada was concerned, and slavery gradually abolished, without compensation to the masters, who must have been very few in number. Long after it was the boast of England that a slave became free as soon as he set foot on English soil, slavery continued in some of the colonies ; and even a slave who obtained his freedom by being taken to England, suffered a reintegration of his servile condition if taken to one of the slave colonies of the empire. This reproach did not attach to Upper Canada. It was not till 1807 that the Imperial Parliament abolished the slave-trade, so far as it had power to do so ; for the prohibition could of course only extend to British subjects.

"Upper Canada prohibited the importation of slaves long before any nation had abandoned the slave-trade. In 1793, a bill was introduced into the Legislature of Lower Canada, 'tending to the abolition of slavery ;' but the result was that it was 'laid on the table.' In 1798, a negress called Charlotte, belonging to Miss JANE COOK, deserted; and being brought before a magistrate, was committed to prison; but she was set at liberty, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, by the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. Another negress, being imprisoned for the same cause, was set at liberty by the Chief Justice. The peculiarity, in this case, seemed to be that she had been purchased in Albany by a person living in Montreal, named ELIAS SMITH, instead of being brought in as part of settlers' effects. Montreal rose against these decisions; and petitioned the Legislature to pass a fugitive slave law, or in default of that, to follow out its inclination, and abolish slavery in the Province. As late as the year 1800, 'divers inhabitants of the district of Montreal' petitioned the Legislature 'to pass an act, declaring that slavery exists under certain conditions, in this Province, and investing perfectly in the masters the property of their negroes; and moreover, that the House pass such laws and regulations for the government of slaves as in its wisdom it shall see fit.' On motion of M. PAPINEAU, the elder, this petition was referred to a committee of five, who reported that, in their opinion, there 'existed reasonable grounds for passing a law to regulate the condition of slaves, to limit the term of slavery, and to prevent the introduction of slaves into the Province.' Mr. CUTHBERT, a member of the committee, accordingly introduced such a bill. In 1800 and in 1801, this bill was before the House; but we hear nothing of it after it got into committee of the whole. In 1803, the same member introduced a bill 'to remove all doubt concerning slavery in this Province, and for other purposes;' but it was sent to a special committee, and we hear no more of it. Several suits were brought in the courts of Lower Canada, arising out of questions of property in slaves. Slavery was legal in Lower Canada till abolished by the Imperial Act, in 1834."

"TORONTO, 15*th March*, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"In reply to your questions relating to slavery in Canada, I beg to say that up to July, 1793, slavery existed in Upper Canada in the same way as in other British colonies, but not to any very great extent. In that year an act was passed by the Provincial Legislature, prohibiting the further introduction of slaves, and providing that every child born of slave parents after the passing of the act should be maintained by the owner of the parents till the child attained the age of 25 years, and that it was then entitled to freedom. And the birth of all children born of slave parents after that date, was required to be registered by the owner under a penalty in case of neglect. Persons are now living in Toronto who held slaves when the above act was passed. Several wills have passed through my hand, in examining titles, by which slaves are manumitted. The law on the subject in Canada at present is the same as the law of England.

"Yours sincerely."

This completes the history of the decline of commercial slavery in the Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch possessions on the American continent.

DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

In 1833, it was enacted in the British Parliament that slavery should cease in all the British colonies on and after August 1st, 1834.

The following is a table of the slave colonies, with the number of slaves registered as belonging to each :

	Number of slaves.
Bermuda	4,905
Bahamas	9,705
Jamaica	311,692
Honduras	1,920
Virgin Isles	5,192
Antigua	29,537
Montserrat	6,355
Nevis	8,722
St. Christopher	20,660
Dominica	14,384
Barbadoes	82,807
Grenada	23,536
St. Vincent	22,997
Tobago	11,621
St. Lucia	13,348
Trinidad	22,359
British Guiana, on the mainland	84,915
Cape of Good Hope (Africa)	38,427
Mauritius	68,615
	781,697

In the bill of emancipation, it was provided that the slaves should labor as apprentices till 1840, when they were to be set at liberty. But a cry was raised against the duration of the apprenticeship, and the term was reduced to 1838, when the blacks became universally free.

The government appropriated £20,000,000, which gave an average of about $127 for each slave, as a remuneration to the owners.

This action on the part of the British government in abolishing negro slavery in her colonies, by which 781,697 negro slaves were liberated, is one of the most prominent events that mark the decline of commercial slavery in America. For nearly fifty years, fanatics and humanitarians had agitated the subject on the score of humanity, and for the same period, political economists had done the same thing on the score of economy.

English statesmen succeeded in figuring it out at last to their satisfaction, that it would be better for English interests, and worse for the interests of other countries, more particularly the United States, if the English colonies changed their system of slave labor to that of free labor. And so the deed was done under the auspices of humanity and philanthropy; but the measures of the English government were imperfect and hasty ; hence, the immediate result was serious ill to the blacks themselves, and very great damage to the material interests of the colonies and of England. The industrial and social status of masses of negro slaves cannot be suddenly changed without injury to all concerned. They must pass through the transition state.

A decided change for the better, it is said, has recently commenced in the British West India islands, especially Jamaica.

Pending the writing of the foregoing, the following came to our notice :

SLAVERY—COOLIE LABOR.

From the London Times, March 1.

The public sentiment upon the subject of slavery and the slave trade seems at last to have entered upon its rational, and, as we may hope, its permanent state. A hundred and fifty years ago, we were fighting for the privilege of conveying negroes over sea. Having obtained all we desired on that score, we then apathetically *pocketed the profits, and positively refused to think of how those profits were obtained. A generation later, and we grew uncomfortable in our gains, and our ears tingled and our consciences grew uneasy as the wails and groans of the stifled negroes came home to us with perpetual and importunate repetition.* We were some years awakening, and Wilberforce and Clarkson, and all the fellow-laborers of these men, had much to do thoroughly to arouse us out of that uneasy state of somnolence. But at last we did awake, and we awoke in a frenzy. *The state of this country, when the full guilt of slavery came upon it, was nothing less than a frenzy of remorse.* Before that passion everything went down. Many men yet living can remember when George Canning failed to obtain, as a concession, the abolition of the power to flog female slaves, and young men can remember when it was thought little less than blasphemy to suggest that even a black man might very reasonably be expected to do some labor. Between these two extremes the public sentiment has violently vibrated. *In the paroxysm of the first remorse, the guilty Englishman saw slavery in everything black. The phantom of that complaining negro was ever before him, and he would shut his eyes and scream if you did but talk to him of a negro at work. He sacrificed everything to his sore, quivering conscience. He was ever upon the watch to find out something more to sacrifice.* He sacrificed his great West Indian interest not only recklessly, but with an ostentatious eagerness. He cast his own twenty millions down to rid himself of the remaining evidences of his crime as penitently as Judas offered the thirty pieces of silver to the Jewish authorities. He poured forth not only his own money and the money of those over whom he held influence, but he lavished the life of his own kith and kin to appease that accusing conscience. On the coast of Africa, in the perfidious sunshine of 'the white man's grave,' amid the beautiful and deadly luxuriance of a tropical vegetation, he placed his own countrymen to pine and die that he might comfort himself with the satisfaction that he had atoned for the great sin he had committed against the black man. For a full generation there was nothing he would not pay, and nothing he would not vicariously endure.

" Every great excitement has its recoil. *The generation of crime has been followed by the generation of remorse; the generation of remorse is followed by the generation of reflection. We who now occupy the earth are less affected by the crimes of grandfathers or the remorse of our fathers. We begin to feel less affright at this spectre of the writhing negro. We have purged ourselves completely of the guilt of his abduction and his other wrongs, and we can feel ourselves entitled to look upon any other man who has succeeded to the common obligation of eating bread by the sweat of his brow.* The flood tide, which had flowed upward, roaring and foaming like the 'bore' of some bell-shaped firth, retained its power of flowing after the great impulse had ceased; but years ago there were some who ventured to say that, after all, the earth must be tilled, and that the great law of nature which doomed man to labor must apply to the black man as well as to the white. Their voices, however, had little chance of being heard, for there was enough of vehemence in our old convictions to urge us not only to persuade but to coerce all the rest of the world to feel as we felt and to be penitent as we were penitent. We lavished our money, we concentrated our efforts, we exerted all our influence, we compromised our political relations, we coerced the weak, and we went to the verge of making war upon the strong, in order to bring the rest of the world to join with us in our crusade against the traffic in mankind. *Never was there in the history of our race so magnificent and so disinterested an enthusiasm.* When the great book of history shall become so vast that far-off generations shall be unable to seize any other than the tallest events in the great vista from which they emerge, this work of England must stand out and challenge admiration, as something to which the story of past ages has no parallel. We English alone have been hearty in the cause. We have shamed some by our example, we have bought others by our largesses, and we have deterred others by our power; but of all the peoples of the earth, we alone have labored, with gold and with arms, for no other object than for that point of conscience which is to us our ' idea '—to put down slavery and the slave trade. Yet we have not succeeded. While we have been starving our own colonists, and suffering our West Indian possessions to return to jungle in very fanaticism, suspecting that slavery must lurk under every contract for labor, other countries have eluded their engagements, or have openly resented our interference. Portugal has required all our attention to keep her at all up to the mark ; Spain has impudently repudiated all her promises ; France has changed the name, but not the substance; and America has continued the odious traffic at sea under the pretext of a jealousy of her national honor, and has, to her misfortune, nursed slavery at home and acknowledged it as a domestic institution. After all our sacrifices and all our efforts, the most zealous opponents of slavery were fain to come down to the House of Commons on Tuesday night, and to propose a resolution, ' That the means hitherto employed by this country for the suppression of the African slave trade have failed to accomplish that object.'

" Now that we can calmly review all that has been done, we find that we have been led away by our generous impulses and have wasted our strength uselessly. Like the charge at Balaklava, ' *C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre,*' it was wonderful, but it was altogether unpracticable. *Great as we are, we are not powerful enough to coerce the world. Strong as we are, we must submit to the laws which universally influence human conduct. After all our vain efforts we are reduced at last to admit that we must be content to attract mankind by their interests, and not pretend to govern them by fear.* France claps her hand upon her sword if we presume to ask whether she has slaves or free laborers in the hold of the Charles-et-Georges. Spain laughs at us if we pretend to prevent her from importing as many slaves as she may want in Cuba. America threatens war if we attempt to liberate the live cargo of a vessel covered with the stars and stripes. *We have discovered at last that commercial competition will do what fleets and armies are utterly incompetent to perform.* Not very long ago, when we, from time to time, urged the claims of our West Indian colonies to some substituted free labor for the slave labor they had lost, we were met by the indignation of our anti-slavery societies. Perhaps there are some remnants of that superstition, which is a great religion degenerated, wherein the same dogmas are still repeated ; but on Tuesday night the modern anti-slavery men came down to ask the House of Commons to believe that ' the true remedy is to be found, not in countenancing immigration into countries were slavery exists, but in augmenting the working population in countries in which slavery has been abolished ;' and ' that the failure has mainly arisen from our having endeavored almost exclusively to prevent the supply of slaves instead of to check the demand for them.' *At last we are condescending to reason upon slavery and the slave trade as we reason upon other human affairs. At last we are coming down from our high notions of destroying anything we do not like by the sword and the cannon-shot—although there are some fanatics, as the debate showed, who still lean upon these means—and are intent upon humbling ourselves to the commonplace notion that the best way of destroying an objectionable system of labor is to undersell it.* Africa, populous as it is, is not so populous as China, nor is it so populous as the coast of India. Africa, necessitous as the people may be, is not so necessitous as the Far East. There we have a hungry civilization which may be molded to our purposes by good treatment more cheaply than the savagery of Africa can be oppressed by coercion. Both in India and in China we have the materials for a competition which may render the slave trade an extinct, because an unprofitable, traffic. The old anti-slavery party will probably for some time still oppose all white emigration, unless it should compel their free black protégés to work by the competition that emigration must create in the labor market; but we are happily getting beyond this stage of folly, and are learning to look upon this subject with the eyes of common sense. *We have a treaty with China which enables us to carry to the West not only Chinamen but their families. We have behaved so well to them that we have gained their confidence. While other nations may kidnap them by tens, we can obtain volunteers by thousands ; and if our laws are observed, and our shipowners and planters are honest, we are not far from the period when we may see the prosperity of our West India colonies restored, and the slave trade extinguished without a cruiser or a fort on the coast of Africa, and without the sacrifice of even another million from the British treasury.*"

There are some remarkable points in the preceding article from the *London Times.* Its confession and self-abasement for the national sin of slavery, is perfectly just and proper. There are several other confessions and acknowledgments particularly pertinent to our facts and line of argument. For example : " Great as we are, we are not powerful enough to coerce the world. Strong as we are, we must submit to the laws which universally influence human conduct." The true interpretation of this, we believe, is : Almighty as we consider ourselves, we have made a slight mistake in our abolition policy, and now we had better be regulated by the laws of God.

We accord with the entire article, except in that high-wrought picture of national frenzy arising from remorse for the sins of a past generation, and the attempt to clothe the present with a very gaudy robe of self-righteousness. We consider all that a very pretty piece of romance, thrown in by the romantic writer to relieve the dark picture.

But impartial, matter-of-fact history must exhibit the policy of England in abolishing slavery and the slave trade, as a mixture of one-third fanaticism, and two-thirds pure selfishness. When the English abolished slavery, does any one believe they ever dreamed that the act would starve the colonists and cause their "West India possession to return to jungle?" to use the expression of the "London Times." No; the English thought their own fair possessions would bloom and prosper with free negroes, while those of *others*, remaining under slavery, would return to jungle. In all this matter, the fanatics worked upon the disposition of English statesmen to leave no means untried to prevent the extension of American interest and influence. From 1783, to within ten years, this feeling of jealousy on the part of England has ever been prominent in English councils. The idea that in abolishing the slave trade and liberating the negro slaves in her West India colonies, American interests would receive a heavy blow, was the deepest and strongest motive England had for so doing. It was but the reflex of the idea entertained by the French Jacobin convention of 1794, of the effect the liberation of the negro slaves in the French West India colonies, would have on England.

We are surprised that in this enlightened age, any sound writer should so *naively* assert that any generation of Englishmen was ever aroused to a *frenzy of remorse for the crimes of the previous generation.* The toughness of national consciences is too well understood in these days, to admit of any such millennial idea. While we fully appreciate the several noble qualities found in the English character, we are among those who doubt whether the phantom of a negro ever troubled the digestion or the slumbers of Englishmen, individually or collectively.

FRENCH WEST INDIES.

"*Lançons la liberté dans les colonies; c'est aujourd'hui que l'anglais est mort!*" thundered forth DANTON in the French convention of 1794. The Jacobin agitation of the idea of thrusting liberty into the blacks of the French colonies, in 1794—equivalent to the abolitionism of our day—caused the blacks in the French island of St. Domingo to thrust the knife into the whites, their masters. At that period there were more negro slaves in the French than in the English colonies, and such were the peculiar relations then existing between France and England, and their relative positions, that the Jacobin idea of giving immediate freedom to negro slaves in the French colonies, was based mainly on the opinion that the *éclat* of the act, the stronger hold it would give France upon her colonies, and the uprising it would cause among the negro slaves in the British colonies, was destined to prove the final blow under which the power of England would succumb to that of France. This policy of the Jacobins was murderous rather than humane, and in the terrible St. Domingo massacre, they were speedily paid back in coin upon which they did not count.

The French convention of 1794 proclaimed the liberty of the blacks in the French colonies, but as soon as NAPOLEON came into power, he annulled this proclamation and caused the blacks to be retained as slaves.

We have already narrated how France abolished the slave trade in 1819.

In 1840 the subject of emancipation in the French colonies was again vigorously agitated. At this time, France had lost her most valuable West India possession, St. Domingo, with other smaller islands; and the negro slaves in her colonies were reduced from nearly 1,000,000 to 250,000. In 1840, the French government (LOUIS PHILIPPE) appointed a commission to inquire into the expediency of abolishing slavery in the colonies, and in 1843, this commission, at the head of which was the Duc de Broglie, brought forth a report of immense volume. It covered 3,450 pages, and contained a vast array of information on the expediency of emancipation.

Here the matter rested until March 4th, 1848, when the Provisional Government of the French Republic decreed, that a commission should be instituted by the Provisionary Ministry of Marine, to prepare, in the shortest time possible, an act of immediate emancipation in all the colonies of the republic.

On the 27th April, 1848, the Provisional Government promulgated the decree of emancipation. It commenced with the following preamble:

> "Considering that slavery is a crime against humanity; that in destroying the free will of man, the natural principle of right and justice is suppressed; that it is a flagrant violation of the republican dogma of liberty, equality, and fraternity."

The decree then says:

> "Art. 1. Slavery shall be abolished in all the colonies of French possessions, two months after the promulgation of this decree in each of them.
>
> "The apprenticeship system in Senegal is abolished.
>
> "The buying and selling of slaves is positively and absolutely interdicted.
>
> "Art. 5. The National Assembly shall regulate the quota of indemnity due to each of the colonies.
>
> "Art. 6. Colonies purified of slavery shall be represented in the National Assembly."

The National Assembly promulgated the law of indemnity January, 1849.

According to this law, the sum of 6,000,000 francs was decreed to be paid to the colonies pro ratâ, in money, thirty days after its promulgation. Also, the sum of 6,000,000 francs in stock, bearing five per cent. interest, to be divided among the colonies pro ratâ.

The amount of 12,000,000, half cash, and half five per cent. stock, was allotted to the colonies in the following proportions, according to the number of slaves liberated in each, under the decree:

	Francs.	Negroes liberated.*
Martinique	3,015,771.60	60,255
Guadaloupe and dependencies	3,894,329.70	77,886
Guiana (on the main)	745,143.76	14,902
La Réunion (Isle of Bourbon)	4,110,400.50	82,208
Senegal and dependencies (Africa)	211,007.32	4,220
Nossebé and St. Marie (Africa)	23,347.12	466
	12,000,000.00	239,937

Thus 239,937 negro slaves were liberated, and slavery was abolished in all the French colonies.

DANISH ISLANDS.

Christian VIII., King of Denmark, in the year 1847, enacted certain laws for the complete emancipation of all the slaves in the Danish islands of St. Thomas, Santa Cruz, and St. Johns.

From the 28th of July of that year, it was ordered that all children born of those held in bondage should be free; and also that at the end of twelve years, slavery should entirely cease.

The next year, 1848, the slaves in Santa Cruz broke out in insurrection, under the pressure of which the Governor-General issued a proclamation, in which slavery was immediately abolished, and the negroes declared free.

SWEDISH ISLAND.

Emancipation was proclaimed on the small island of St. Bartholomew, October 9th, 1847.

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* We have not been able to obtain the exact number of slaves liberated by the French decree of emancipation. This table is based on the fact that 500 francs or one hundred dollars was the amount allowed for each slave liberated. The figures must be very nearly accurate.

HAYTI, OR ST. DOMINGO.

The French part of St. Domingo proclaimed its independence in 1800, and in 1803 the French were expelled, and it is now a republic of free negroes.

The Spanish part of the island is also a republic, with president, legislature, assembly and council. Slavery is extinct.

SPANISH ISLANDS—CUBA.

The island of Cuba is the only place on earth where the commercial slave-trade exists. Tolerated by the authorities of the island, winked at by the government of Spain, the trade flourishes, half clandestinely, though not to so great an extent as in former years.

The number of Africans landed in Cuba yearly cannot be stated with accuracy, but it is said to be between six and ten thousand. The Spanish government has recently made known its intention to station a fleet on the African coast, and use its best endeavors to suppress the trade. Whether Spain is sincere in these expressed intentions, remains to be seen.

The importation of coolies from China, to labor as apprentices, has been resorted to recently in Cuba, and it is said with satisfactory results. The apprenticeship system is denounced in certain quarters, as no better than slavery. We do not consider the discussion of this point pertinent to our subject.

The sudden failure of industry in the British West India colonies, by reason of abolition, created at once an enlarged demand for slave labor in Cuba, principally to cultivate the sugar-cane. The effect in Louisiana was the same; hence, the strong hold slavery now has in one or more localities, can be traced directly, in part, to the hasty and injudicious manner in which England abolished slavery in her colonies.

The population of Cuba was, in

	Whites.	Free Blacks.	Slaves.	Total.
1775....				170,370
1817....				551,998
1854....	501,988	176,647	330,425	1,009,060

Except in the importation of coolies, the increase of free blacks and the expressed intention of the Spanish government to suppress the slave-trade, there are no indications of a weakening of the system of slave labor in the island of Cuba. But we may have evidence of a change in this respect at an early day.

PORTO RICO.

The island of Porto Rico is owned by Spain, and governed by a Captain-General. It is 100 miles long by 35 to 40 wide. The staple product of the island is sugar. Tobacco is raised in small quantities; also cotton of the best quality. The exports are $8,000,000 per annum.

The facts relating to slavery on this island are interesting.

The slave-trade was abolished by Spain in 1822, and the contraband trade with this island has ceased. No slaves have been landed on the island for some years. In 1859 an attempt was made to land a cargo of negroes, but, through the watchfulness and activity of the authorities, the parties were detected and arrested; and they are now suffering the penalty.

According to the law, a slave in Porto Rico can go before a judge, appointed for the purpose, obtain his appraisement, and purchase his freedom at the rate thus fixed.

Four years ago, Pezuela, the Captain-General, started the project of freeing *one* slave per annum from a certain fund of the church. This was done with the idea that it would form the basis of a plan of general emancipation. This shows the *animus*.

The comfort and safety of the slaves are guarded by law. They can complain of maltreatment, on the part of their masters, to a special judge, and, on conviction, the master is fined or imprisoned.

The entire population of the island is estimated at 500,000. Of this number ten per cent., or 50,000 are slaves, and 125,000 are free blacks.

The free blacks are, as a class, orderly, and to a certain extent, industrious. Some of the sugar haciendas are worked entirely with free blacks; others by slaves and free blacks together, and the balance by slaves entirely.

The number of slaves is gradually diminishing. The planters generally have come to the conclusion that slave labor is dearer than free labor, and, under this belief, the laws and public opinion are favoring the emancipation of the blacks.

DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

In speaking of the decline of commercial slavery in what have been known as the United States, we use the comparative term. In the more rapid increase of free territory, the greater increase of free population and the products of free labor, we recognize the inevitable law of progress before which the institution of slavery is surely and rapidly declining, and will soon disappear.

When the Federal Constitution was framed and adopted in 1787, the following relative proportion of free and slave territory existed in the original States:

	Square Miles.
Free: Massachusetts, including the territory of Maine, .	42,800
Slave: Twelve States, ...	326,691

The gain of slave territory upon this basis has been as follows:

States.	Admitted into the Union.	Square Miles.
Kentucky,	1792	37,680
Tennessee,	1796	44,000
Louisiana,	1811	41,346
Mississippi,	1817	47,151
Missouri,	1821	65,037
Alabama,	1820	50,722
Arkansas,	1836	52,198
Florida,	1836	59,268
Texas,	1845	274,000
		671,402
Indian Territory,		71,127
Total gain slave territory,		742,529

The gain of free territory, upon the same basis, has been as follows :

States.	Admitted into the Union.	Square Miles.
New Hampshire,		8,030
Connecticut,		4,750
Rhode Island,		1,200
Vermont,	1790	8,000
New Jersey,		6,851
New York,		46,000
Pennsylvania,		47,000
Ohio,	1802	39,964
Indiana,	1816	33,809
Illinois,	1818	55,409
Michigan,	1836	56,243
Iowa,	1846	50,914
Wisconsin,	1848	53,924
California,	1850	160,000
Minnesota,	1858	86,000
Oregon,	1858	185,000
Kansas,	1861	125,283
Territories.		
Nebraska,		335,882
Dakotah,		60,000
Utah,		269,170
Washington,		123,022
New Mexico,		256,309
Arizona,		80,000
		2,092,560

RECAPITULATION.

	Square Miles.
Original free territory,	42,800
Gain,	2,092,560
Total free territory, 1860,	2,135,360
Original slave territory,	326,691
Gain,	671,402
	998,093
Deduct loss from original slave territory, six States,	123,081
Total slave territory, 1860,	875,012
Free territory,	2,135,360
Slave territory,	875,012
Total gain free territory,	1,260,348

Thus we find the gain of free over slave territory, since the formation of the Federal compact, is 1,260,348 square miles.

During this period, the free States have increased from one to nineteen, while the slave States have lost six and gained nine, making a net gain of only three, which, added to the original twelve, makes fifteen slave States against nineteen free States; leaving nearly a million of square miles of free territory out of which to make free States.

The census of 1860 gives 27,649,535 free population, and 3,999,353 slaves, which is one slave to seven free, a gain of free population over slave population, since 1790, of more than sixty per cent. The increase of slave population during the last decade has been but little over twenty per cent., the lowest rate of increase since the formation of the government.

The following is a statement showing the absolute free and slave populations in the slave States at the last three enumerations:

States.	Free Population.			Slave Population.		
	1840.	1850.	1860.	1840.	1850.	1860.
Delaware......	75,480	89,242	110,548	2,605	2,290	1,805
Maryland.....	380,282	492,666	646,583	89,737	90,386	85,382
Virginia.......	790,710	949,133	1,097,373	449,087	472,528	495,826
N. Carolina....	507,601	580,491	679,965	245,817	288,548	328,377
S. Carolina.....	267,360	283,523	308,186	327,038	384,984	407,185
Georgia........	410,448	524,503	615,336	280,944	381,682	467,461
Florida.......	28,760	48,135	81,885	25,717	39,310	63,809
Alabama......	337,224	428,779	520,444	253,352	342,844	435,473
Mississippi.....	180,440	296,648	407,551	195,211	309,878	479,607
Louisiana.....	183,959	272,953	354,245	168,452	244,809	312,186
Texas..........	....	154,431	415.999	....	58,167	184,956
Arkansas......	77,639	163,797	331,710	19,935	47,100	109,065
Missouri.......	325,462	594,622	1,085,590	58,240	87,422	115,619
Kentucky.....	597,520	771,424	920,077	182,258	210,981	225,490
Tennessee.....	646,151	763,258	859,528	183,059	239,459	287,112
Total.......	4,809,097	6,412,605	8,435,020	2,481,622	3,200,364	3,999,353

In 1790, the products of the country were almost entirely the result of slave labor, and the exports were principally from the Southern States, and these did not reach $5,000,000 per annum.

In 1850, the annual value of manufactures in the free States was $842,586,058, and the annual value of manufactures in the slave States was $165,413,027.

In 1855, the commercial exchanges of the United States (imports and exports) were $536,435,719, of which $404,368,503 belonged to the free States, and $132,067,216 to the slave States.

We find these facts in a book known as "*Helper's Impending Crisis*," got up and used to frighten the people of the North into the belief that it was necessary for the Abolition party to obtain the control of the Federal Government, and make war upon the South, in order to arrest the progress of the institution of slavery. We believe no one will deny the important part this book has played in sustaining the "irrepressible conflict," and stimulating sectional strife.

Now we take this book (granting that its statistics are correct) as the strongest possible evidence that slavery has been declining since the Federal Union was formed—that the institution is doomed to disappear in the regular order of nature at no very distant day. We use this book to prove precisely what the Republican demagogues, in their mangling of the subject, have attempted to disprove. According to the statistics of Helper's book, the free States have been gaining on the slave States from the outset, in territory, population, manufactures, products, arts, sciences—everything that constitutes national greatness ; and all this, according to its own account, under the statesmen and statesmanship of that same South which it so violently and so atrociously abuses.

From 1828 to 1833, a disposition was manifested in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, to adopt measures for the abolition of slavery within their limits. But most unfortunately, a species of rabid fanaticism, known in these days as *abolition*, made its appearance in our midst, and by its unreasonable demands, its bitter invective, sweeping denunciation, and unnatural, unconstitutional tendencies, raised such a general and determined opposition on the part of the South, that all hope of any immediate movement tending to emancipation in any of the slave States was speedily extinguished. In this abolition movement we see the beginning of that *treason* which has dissevered the Confederacy.

It can be said, however, that slavery in the State of Delaware has steadily declined, and is now nearly extinct. In 1790, this State had 8,887 slaves. In 1850, but 2290 ; and the census of 1860 gives only 1,805.

Slavery in Maryland is also gradually becoming extinct. In 1790, the slave population numbered 103,036. The census of 1860 gives 85,382 slaves, to 646,583 whites.

Western Virginia—the mountainous region is gradually ridding itself of the negro, and manifesting decided free soil proclivities. When the State of Virginia--the proud Old Dominion--the mother of Presidents, wakes up to the fact that something more honorable and profitable awaits her than a decaying existence as the mother of negroes—the *Africa* of the slave States—she will shake off the incubus, and stand forth in all the glory to which she is entitled from ancient and noble associations.

In Missouri, slavery is also on the decline. The proportion of slaves to the whites is less in this State than that of any other State except Delaware.

The city of St. Louis, the empire city of the West, is already a free city.

In Texas, slavery has but a feeble existence, except in what is called Eastern Texas, constituting scarcely one-quarter of the State. Texas looks large, very large, on the map, but of the 274,000 square miles it contains, at least 100,000, or more than one-third, is a desert, where neither white nor blacks can live. The entire country west of the 100th meridian, is a dreary waste (except immediately on the Rio Grande), that never will be settled.

South of the River Colorado, and east of the 100th meridian, constituting what is known as Western Texas, would be free to-day if separated from Eastern Texas. The fear that this extensive region would be eventually converted into slave states, which convulsed the North when Texas was admitted into the Union, will never be realized.

IN VIEW OF THESE GREAT AND IMPORTANT FACTS, IT BECAME apparent, that the Almighty was working out the abolition of slavery in his own good time and manner, and somewhat too rapidly for the special designs of certain abolition fanatics and selfish politicians, whose life-long struggle for spoils and power was likely to end in grief, if political success should not be speedily attained. It became necessary, therefore, to forestall the Almighty. To this end, a political convention was held in the city of Pittsburg, August, 1856, to organize a party whose object should be to act on the *defensive* against the South, to *resist* the *aggressions*, the *extension* of slavery, to *prevent* the slaveholding interest from obtaining *permanent control of the Federal Government!*

This convention gave birth to the *republican party*—a party which a CLAY, a WEBSTER, or other statesmen of past days, and whom it was necessary to kill off before such a party could be created—would have scorned.

There is no denying the fact, that the republican party of 1856, comprehends the free soil party of 1848, and the liberty party of 1844, all having their common foundation far back in original abolitionism, under the auspices of which, what may be termed *venom distilleries* were established, in the shape of abolition societies, abolition journals, abolition tracts, abolition lectures, abolition sermons, etc., and which for more than thirty years, distilled their poison into the public mind in one unceasing drip.

On the 25th of October, 1858, the acknowledged creator and leader of the republican party, WM. H. SEWARD, stood up before the people of the North, and declared the principles and purposes of the party, as follows :

> "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina, and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture, and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more the markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men."

Based upon such infidel notions as these—such an utter want of faith in the overruling power of divine Providence and the progress of humanity—abolition, under the name of republicanism, drew a large body of the most respectable and well-meaning people of the North, into the belief that the freedom of their own soil, and the salvation of the Federal Government, depended on the success of the republican party in 1860. Upon this unnatural, false issue, abolition—*livid abolition*—achieved success, and is now enthroned in Washington.

It was these views, and the fear of abolition success, that caused us to remark, in MEXICAN PAPERS, No. 3, Sept. 15, 1860, page 128, as follows:

> "The 'irrepressible conflict' leaders dread these developments (the decline of slavery) more than all else. Mr. SEWARD feels that they are already beginning to have their influence, and he is exerting himself to destroy the effect and keep up the sectional flame until after the election in November next. We detect this in every speech he makes on his western tour. Mr. SEWARD has clothed himself with an idea—the assumption that he is something like a Divine Essence—the spirit of progressive freedom on this continent, and many good people bow down to him as such.
>
> "You who take the opposite ground, and whose business it is, give the people light on this subject. THE PEOPLE NEED LIGHT! They are ready to receive it. Every ray shed does some good, even at this late moment. Follow the demagogues and fanatics, and puncture the wickedest political humbug that ever cast its dark and threatening shadow over a great and prosperous nation."

That dark and threatening shadow has become a reality. The reputed author of the idea of the "irrepressible conflict" is President of the United States, and the elaborator of that idea is his premier, but—*where is our country?*

GENERAL RECAPITULATON.

In the foregoing history of Commercial Slavery in America, the principal endeavor has been to set forth three points, namely:

First. The rise of Commercial Slavery in America.

Second. The culminating Period of Commercial Slavery in America.

Third. The decline of Commercial Slavery in America.

In elucidating the first mentioned point, the following facts are narrated:

First. The commencement of the era of Commercial Slavery, by the discovery of the west coast of Africa by the Portuguese in 1441.

Second. This discovery of the New World by COLUMBUS in 1492.

Third. The destruction of the natives of the West India islands, estimated at 4,000,000, by the Spaniards, by which a demand for negro slaves was created.

Fourth. The first importation of negro slaves into Hispaniola by the Spanish in 1501.

Fifth. The discovery and occupation of the American Continent by the commercial nations of Europe—the Spaniards, Portuguese, English, French, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, etc.

Sixth. The enslaving of the aborigines on the continent by the Spaniards and Portuguese.

Seventh. The rapid extension of the slave-trade and slavery throughout the settled portion of the American continent.

Eighth. The commercial nations of Europe enter upon the slave-trade and supply their American colonies, giving it a moral support based on the ancient superstitious notion that in capturing the heathen and enslaving them, they were saving souls.

Ninth. The European nations protect the slave-trade and slavery by legislation and treaties, and follow it up most vigorously as the foundation of their African and American commerce for upward of two and a half centuries.

In elucidating the second point, that of the culminating period of commercial slavery in America, which period may be said to run from 1775 to the first of the nineteenth century, the following facts are stated :

First. The entire American continent, with the West India islands, was slave territory.

Second. The entire labor or service in all that part of the world was performed by negro and Indian slaves.

Third. All the exports were the products of slave labor.

Fourth. By royal edicts, legislative enactments and common law, the right of man to own property in man was protected throughout America in the strongest manner possible.

Fifth. All the European nations having possessions in America, were actively engaged in the slave-trade, and in supplying their colonies with slaves.

Sixth. The moral, legal, territorial, industrial and commercial status of slavery was complete throughout America.

Seventh. The number of negro slaves was, in 1790	3,063,138
Ditto, Indian slaves,	7,000,000
Total, slaves,	10,063,138
Estimated number of free civilized inhabitants on the American continent and West India Islands in 1790	6,000,000
Excess of slaves over free inhabitants	4,563,138

The third point—the decline of Commercial Slavery in America—is represented in the following facts:

First. Initiatory measures of abolition by Rhode Island in 1770 ; by Virginia in 1778 ; by Pennsylvania in 1780 ; by Maryland in 1783 ; by Connecticut in 1784 ; by North Carolina in 1786 ; by Canada in 1793 ; in all of which slavery became gradually extinct, except in Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina.

Slavery abolished in Massachusetts in 1783 and in New Hampshire in 1792. Slavery prohibited in the Northwest Territory by Ordinance of 1787.

Second. Slave-trade abolished by Denmark in 1803 ; by the United States in 1808 ; by England in 1808 ; by Holland in 1814 ; by France in 1819 ; by Spain in 1822 ; by Portugal in 1823 ; by Brazil, 1850.

Third. The liberation of the aborigines inhabiting Spanish America and held in slavery, numbering 7,000,000 and upward, during the Spanish American revolutions, extending from 1810 to 1825.

Fourth; The abolition of negro slavery by New Grenada and Venezuela in 1823 ; by Guatemala, comprising the Central American States, in 1824 : by La Plata gradually, commencing in 1813 ; by Mexico and Yucatan in 1829 ; by Chili in 1833. By Peru gradually, commencing in 1821, and becoming extinct in 1855.

Fifth. The abolition of slavery in the English colonies by England in 1834, by which 781,697 slaves were liberated ; the abolition of slavery in the French colonies by France in 1848, by which 239,937 slaves were liberated ; the abolition of slavery in the Danish Colonies by Denmark in 1848 ; the abolition of slavery in the Swedish Colonies by Sweden in 1847 ; the abolition of slavery in Dutch Guiana by Holland in 1851.

Sixth. The measures taken by the government of Brazil, in accordance with public opinion, to substitute free for slave labor, by which slavery is gradually becoming extinct in that great empire.

Seventh. The decline of slavery in the American States of Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and in Western Virginia ; the settlement of Western Texas by free laborers, and the general decay of the institution throughout the South, as elucidated by the U. S. census statistics.

Eighth. The total disappearance of the moral status of slavery throughout the civilized world.

GRAND RESULTS.

The following are the grand results which thus far indicate the decline of commercial slavery in America :

		Square Miles.
Area of the American Continent and West Indian Islands, all slave territory up to 1783		14,130,208
Present area of slave territory in America.	Square Miles.	
Brazil	2,973,406	
Cuba and Porto Rico	46,258	
Southern States, U. S.	875,012	
	3,894,676	14,130,208
		3,894,676
Gain of free upon slave territory in America since 1783 . . .		11,235,532

Slave population in 1790, Negro		3,063,138
Indian		7,000,000
Free civilized population in America 1790	6,000,000	
	6,000,000	10,063,138
		6,000,000
Excess of slave above free civilized population in America, 1790		4,063,138

Free civilized population in America, 1860,		65,000,000
Slave population in America, 1860 :		
Southern States, U. S.	3,999,353	
Brazil	2,800,000	
Cuba	330,425	
Porto Rico	50,000	
	7,179,778	65.000,000
		7,179,778
Excess of free civilized population over slave population in America, 1860		57,820,222

We cannot, at this moment, give with any degree of accuracy the amount of exports from all America during the latter part of the eighteenth century, when slavery was universally prevalent. It is sufficient to know that they were all the product of slave labor, a large amount being in the precious metals taken from the mines in Spanish America by the Indian slaves.

The amount of exports from America, in 1860, may be stated with accuracy, in round numbers, at		$700,000,000
Of this amount, slave products are :		
Brazil,	$50,000,000	
Cuba,	44,000,000	
Porto Rico,	6,000,000	
Southern States, U. S.,	150,000,000	
	$250,000,000	$700,000,000
		250,000,000
Excess of free over slave labor in articles of export,		$450,000,000

This is a gain of nearly two-thirds in free over slave labor, within sixty years.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The extent of the slave-trade, from 1500 to 1850, a period of 350 years, we estimate as follows :

	Number of negroes imported into America per annum.	Total.
From 1500 to 1525,	500	12,500
From 1525 to 1550,	5,000	125,000
From 1550 to 1600,	15,000	750,000
From 1600 to 1650,	20,000	1,000,000
From 1650 to 1700,	35,000	1,750,000
From 1700 to 1750,	60,000	3,000,000
From 1750 to 1800,	80,000	4,000,000
From 1800 to 1850,	65,000	3,250,000
Total importation of negro slaves into America during a period of 350 years		13,887,500

We put forth this estimate with the remark, that any statement of the number of negro slaves imported into America since its discovery by Columbus, must be based mainly on conjecture, guided by such facts as can be gathered in history. In the first place, no thorough or complete official records of this traffic were kept by the nations engaged in it. Their interests in the business required a suppression of definite information relative to its prosecution. Those companies who held the legal monopoly of the trade, invariably transcended the prescribed limits, and it is well known that outside parties—the *contrabandistas*—imported far more slaves than the legal monopolists. Special privileges—such as taking a certain number of negro servants and laborers to the New World—were also granted to Spanish discoverers, conquerors and colonists. In numerous ways, therefore, the number of negro slaves taken to America reached an amount, every year, of which the various parties engaged in the trade, and the authorities, were entirely unconscious; and in giving in round numbers, say 14,000,000, as the sum total of negro slaves imported into America, we are probably below the mark rather than above it.

But now, the only remaining trade in slaves is with Cuba, and the importation cannot exceed 10,000 per annum, and in a very few years the trade will probably be entirely extinct; and then, according to our calculation, the progressive working of the inexorable laws that regulate capital and labor, will peacefully exterminate slavery among the commercial nations within fifty years.

CONCLUSION.

The foregoing history of the RISE AND DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA has been written within a period of time too limited, and in the midst of business occupations much at variance with a work of this nature. Consequently, we have not been able to give the subject that extensive research and careful study which its magnitude and importance demand. Such facts as are given, however, we believe can be fully relied on as correct. The line of argument running through these facts is another matter. Readers will coincide or dissent as their judgment or their prejudices dictate. What is written herein is addressed to the common sense of peoples, without regard to the prejudices of party, sect, or nation.

Any discussion of the Missouri Compromise, the Wilmot Proviso, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Lecompton or Anti-Lecompton, etc., etc., has been purposely omitted, as they are considered outside issues—so many bread pills, in fact, administered to the patient who imagined himself sick, and having no effect whatsoever on the extension or restriction of slavery in this country.

In writing the history of Commercial Slavery in America, the first endeavor has been to exhibit the rise and decline of the institution in all the nakedness of truth—how it arose, in the first place, on the necessity created by cruelty and injustice, and was sustained by the superstitious notion that the heathen descendants of Ham were destined to serve the Christian descendants of Japhet—and how it declined, and is declining, in obedience to the common law of nations and of society.

The great motive in writing this history has been to expose the folly of the postulate set up by the South that slavery can go here and go there, and the acceptance of that postulate by the North. This is the false issue upon which the Union was dissolved. The Abolitionists created it in the first place, and the unprincipled politicians called into existence by that class of fanatics have kept it alive for their own selfish purposes, and it is still their great political hobby.

The postulate we set up is, that *slavery has got its limit on this continent; that so long as the slave-trade is kept down, no amount of favorable legislation, and a bounty added thereto, can carry slavery into any of the United States territory where slavery does not already exist, or into the countries beyond it.*

When we have the great fact in view, that with all the excitement, all the legislation upon the institution, *pro* and *con.*, practical slavery has not gained one foot in acquired territory since the purchase of the territory of Louisiana, by Mr. JEFFERSON, in 1803, except a corner of Texas, but, on the contrary, has lost a large part of what was originally slave territory, it passes our comprehension how an intelligent people, as the Americans are said to be, can be wrought up to the delirious point of self-destruction over a phantom issue, by wicked fanatics and unprincipled politicians. But such, in our view, is the fact; and unless the American people pause and reflect, unless the public mind educates itself anew, and takes an entirely different course of thought and action than that which it has been led to adopt for the last thirty years, the present generation is lost past all redemption.

The prospect now is, that this ruinous struggle over a hypothesis will be carried into Mexico, and the foregoing history of slavery in America has been written with special reference to the question of extending the institution over the neighboring republic, a question now uppermost in the public mind, and one which has a direct bearing on the question, "*Is Mexican nationality destined to be extinguished?*" a subject opened in MEXICAN PAPERS, No. 4, and which we desire may be considered as continued in this publication.

The public mind in the North is kept in a feverish state of excitement, by announcements, through the press, that the South is devising ways and means to establish slavery in New

Mexico, Arizona, Southern California, Lower California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, all of Mexico, Central America, etc., etc. The entire press of this country is absorbed in the discussion of the subject of slavery extension by the Southern Confederacy. By reason of the marvellous ignorance of the North relative to the South, the countries adjoining, and the question of slavery generally, the public mind here is made to run in this channel, without let or hindrance.

With the wretched Kansas struggle fresh in the mind, it appears impossible that a people not utterly demoralized, morally and politically, should suffer themselves to be led into the support of the continuance of that struggle on a more extended field.

Kansas belongs for the most part to that barren slope of the Rocky Mountains east, which extends far down into Mexico, and in climate, soil, etc., comes within what may be termed the range of eccentrics. A fruitful season in the limited arable sections is more the exception than the general rule.

Here, when the hand of Providence had written in characters too plain to be misunderstood, "*slavery shall not come*," the South, stimulated to audacity by abolition, attempted, in the intensity of political fanaticism and selfishness, to establish the peculiar institution. The North, with equal political fanaticism and selfishness, strongly impregnated with religious fanaticism, took up the gauntlet thrown down by the South, and thus the two political parties, ignoring the laws of nature—of God—enter upon a contest, which history must portray as one of the most disgraceful that can be found in the annals of civilized nations.

A horde of border ruffians from the South, of that lawless class usually found on every frontier, and owning few or no slaves, are the Kansas pioneers of the slavery propagandists. They are met by the same class of border ruffians from the North, the emissaries of abolition, with the addition of a very worthy class of eastern emigrants, fitted out and induced to emigrate to Kansas under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies, by holders of corner lots, and Kansas land speculators generally, in the East. These are the parties, and these the elements that made up the Kansas strife, the motive of which on the part of the originators on either side, had nothing to do with any principle of justice, humanity or philanthropy.

All the favorable legislation in the world, with a bounty of fifty dollars per head on every slave taken to Kansas, would not have established practical slavery in that territory. And yet, Kansas is the Abolition Mecca. "I am on a pilgrimage to Kansas where the battle of freedom was fought and won; I must see Kansas before I die!" said the great demagogue of the day, on his stumping tour in the West, just before the election.

What hope is there for a country that gives itself up to such stupid, canting demagogism as this? We have none.

Freedom or slavery had no more to do with the contest in Kansas, than republicanism or monarchy had to do with the contest between HEENAN and SAYERS. There was a great deal more to commend in the Farnborough than in the Kansas fight, and the abolitionists would appear to better advantage consecrating the sod of the Farnborough ring to plug-uglyism with their crocodile tears, than canting about the battle of freedom having been fought and won in Kansas.

But it appears almost certain that this ruinous Kansas struggle over a miserable abstraction will be carried into other lands, to the hazard of creating complications which must end in terrible wars, and a reconstruction of the entire map of America.

We believe that those who have perused the previous numbers of the MEXICAN PAPERS, and who feel interest enough in the subject to examine the present number, will be able to fully comprehend its politics and its policy. We know of no existing political party in the country to which the publication can be said to belong; and we know of no political journal from Maine to California, that can, consistently with its partisanship, give favorable publicity to our facts and arguments. They ignore our postulate that slavery is on the decline, past all human power of resuscitation, and either laud the institution as one of divine origin, just and beneficent, or they sustain the abolition party now in power, which would, if it could get the means, carry fire and sword to every hearth-stone in the South, in the accomplishment of its fanatical purposes.

Our political position, we acknowledge, is *sui generis*, and we have no expectation that the sentiments of this publication will meet with much favor at the present moment. Years hence, when this ruinous struggle has done its perfect work, there may be those who will duly appreciate the fanatical folly of the past.

At the last Presidential election, we sympathized with the smallest party in the struggle, that ridiculed by the abolitionists as the "old woman's party"—the Bell-Everett party. We sympathized with everything opposed to the Republican candidate, believing his election would prove exactly what it has proved—*the death-knell of the Union!* We desired most ardently that another four years might pass without an abolition success, believing such a flood of light would be thrown upon the subject by new developments in our own and in the surrounding countries, as to ward off the ruinous issue forever.

We regarded the McLane-Ocampo (Mexican) treaty as the basis of the most important of these developments. So thought the fire-eating and abolition politicians, and they trampled it beneath their feet in the Senate of the United States. Senators HAMMOND and WIGFALL were conspicuous in this matter. Senator WILLIAM H. SEWARD, now Secretary of State, opposed this treaty with great bitterness, both openly and secretly. Senator HANNIBAL HAMLIN, now Vice-President of the United States, declared: "*My right arm shall be cut off inch by inch, before I will vote for that Mexican Treaty.*"

Had that Mexican treaty been ratified and put in immediate operation, some of the most dangerous complications which now threaten us, never could have arisen.

But Providence decreed that the present issue should come, and every true-hearted American must accept the result in deep and bitter sorrow.

We contend that there is no greater indication that society has advanced, than the ground now maintained by the civilized world, in relation to the question of human slavery. The moral support it derived from an ancient superstition has disappeared, and this, with the economical working of natural causes, is letting the institution down by the run. That SILENT REVOLUTION, based on the steam engine, the electric telegraph, in short, the application of science to mechanics, is doing more than all other causes combined to overthrow those degrading superstitions that have enthralled the world so long.

Taking this view of the matter, we contend that the American Union has been broken up on the assumption, by the two great political parties, that nature can be made to turn back upon herself—that God can be forced to retrace his footsteps by *human legislation;* and on this assumption the country is going to ruin with fearful velocity.

The Republican party came into power on this assumption, consequently, it cannot stand up to any principle of its platform, and has no moral force. The Republican administration does not appear to have sufficient common sense to judiciously wield any moral power, even could they command it. We have no faith that those who have so recklessly run the ship of State upon the breakers, will ever bring her to safe moorings, and the total failure of the present administration in Washington, is a foregone conclusion. If their bungling statesmanship does not induce anarchy that will drive them from their seats before their legal term of office has expired, they may consider themselves exceedingly fortunate.

The Southern Confederacy came into existence on the same assumption as that of the Republican party, and as a confederacy based on slavery, we have no confidence in its ultimate success. But for the time being, it has advantages over the North; first, *it derives a moral power from the revolutionary right given it by abolition.* It also derives an additional advantage from greater unity and energy of action, and superior statesmanship. The great commercial nations of Europe, in consideration of their material interests, will be forced, not only to recognize the independence of the Southern Confederacy, but they must support that confederacy by force of arms against northern abolition. Though this may not prevent war and anarchy, it will serve the purpose of the South, for the moment, in establishing a political existence; and in due time, if peace prevails, a sensible regard for their material interests, will doubtless induce them to provide for the decent and peaceful death and burial of slavery.

We do not believe such statesmen as DAVIS, TOOMBS, STEPHENS, IVERSON, and others in the South, have any faith in the permanency of a government or society based on slavery, notwithstanding their bold assumptions to the contrary at this moment. Their intention is, doubtless, to get beyond the reach of abolition dictation, and then provide for emancipation in a safe and wise manner.

Notwithstanding the recent speech of the Hon. A. H. STEPHENS, lauding his new government above all others, because it is based on slavery, we do Mr. STEPHENS the credit to believe that he hates the institution most cordially. If there is a *genuine* hatred of slavery anywhere, it is in the South. There they curse the institution from the bottom of their hearts; but one of the effects of Northern abolition has been to turn this hatred of slavery into the determination to sustain it at all hazards, right or wrong. Northern abolition has closed the Southern mind, and shut out all calm and judicious contemplation of the subject, and we believe the South will sink negroes, cotton, lands, and country, before submitting to the dictation of such characters as GARRISON, PHILLIPS, the TAPPANS, FRED. DOUGLASS, GIDDINGS, GREELEY, Lincoln, Seward, and a host of lesser lights in the black army of abolition. Our knowledge of the spirit that animates these parties, and our appreciation of the luxury of independence, causes us to sympathize, heart and soul, with the South on this point. .

There are, doubtless, some in South Carolina who believe heaven is based on slavery ; nevertheless, we venture to assert it as our belief, that in the ordinary course of events, South Carolina will be the first State of the present Southern Confederacy to initiate measures of emancipation.

But whatever may be the relative condition and position of the two confederacies as they now stand, it is useless to deny that the condition of affairs in both sections is in the highest degree perilous. It appears to us that the American people do not comprehend the magnitude of the revolution that is progressing with such tremendous strides. This revolution struck us at a moment when the country was saturated, so to speak, with money and produce—in the very highth of our material prosperity. But the process of draining has already commenced, and in small and unseen rills, the national wealth is beginning to trickle away. Another year may bring pinching want where plenty now abounds. Our prestige, as a power on earth, is gone, and henceforth Americans will go abroad among the nations, hanging their heads with shame, and exposed to insult and scorn.

There is a moral anarchy now prevailing among us that is the sure forerunner of the clash of arms. Complications of vast import are coming up out of the dark future, and monster phantoms are hovering about, pointing to the fleets of every commercial nation in Europe in our southern waters and the Gulf of Mexico, and their armies on Mexican territory, where we shall all be involved in the fierce struggle of nationalities, unless the fratricidal strife now raging in the United States is at once brought to an end.

But at the present moment this seems scarcely possible. Abolitionism has divided us not only politically, but it has cleft the great American heart in twain. Whether it can ever be reunited, God only knows. Not until abolitionism is put down, shall we have the slightest hope that anything of the kind can be accomplished. Not until the disorganizers of society, known as abolitionists, agrarians, free-lovers, socialists, etc., etc., with all their *isms*, hatched out by the pestilential heat of licentious liberty in this republic, are *squelched*, shall we have any faith that fraternity, peace, and prosperity can be restored to our unhappy country.

We rest in the hope that a great *white* Republican party—a party purified of the negro and his pestiferous surroundings, and devoted to the great and common interests of our great and common country, will rise up and capture it from the political harpies who are now revelling in its life-blood.

In our general remarks upon the Republican party, we are not unmindful of the fact that a large portion utterly repudiate abolition, and voted the Republican ticket in all sincerity and good faith to the country, entirely unconscious of the mischief their leaders were perpetrating. There are also prominent individuals in this party whom we know and respect, and whose friendship we cherish ; but who, from some unfortunate combination of circumstances, have been induced to pursue a course in politics which we feel confident they will regret in the future.

To all such, we would not say one word to irritate or offend, and we trust they will so understand it.

But there are leaders in this party—those who have crawled to power by dark and devious ways, subverting patriotism, and striking down by stealth every noble object that stood between them and their wicked designs, and whose greatness and power are derived only from their country's ruin—for whom we have no soft or palliative words. They have robbed us of our honest pride, as an American citizen, and for this alone, we deem it an imperative duty to do all that lies in our power to send their names down to posterity in unutterable infamy.

Dr. Mackay

With the compliments of
the Editor.

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